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ON THE METHOD OF PRACTISING CONCENTRATION AND CONTEMPLATION

CHI KI (CHIK I)

A MONK OF SHUZENJI (HSIUTANSZU) MONASTERY
OF TENDAI (TIENT'AI) MOUNTAIN

Translated by KAKUSO OKAKURA

with a Prefatory Note by

WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW

KAKUSO OKAKURA died in Japan September 2, 1913. He was an "Admirable Crichton" in his way, a man of vast learning, which covered both sides of the world. He was graduated from the Tokio University in 1880 with honors in philosophy and English literature, to which he might have added honors in Oriental philosophy and literature had not the drift of education in Japan at that time been all in the direction of the Occident. He always kept in close touch with the Occidental world, and was for ten years the head of the Department of Chinese and Japanese Art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Okakura was the greatest scholar and most original writer of modern times on Oriental art. But this was far from being his only interest; his mind was encyclopaedic. It seemed impossible to ask him a question which he could not answer, not only in regard to art and poetry, but in regard to history or philosophy or religion in Japan, China, or India. He was a great traveller. He had been around the world repeatedly. He had been in China many times and travelled all over that country. He spent nearly two years in India, with which he was equally familiar, notably in respect to art, religion, and philosophy. His grasp of our Western literature and fine arts was extraordinary. I always enjoyed going with him to see pictures or hear music. His appreciation was keen. He liked Raphael and

detested Rubens. After a Beethoven symphony at one of our concerts here, he said to me, "Ah! This is the only art in which the West has gone farther than the East." On the other hand, I remember his characterizing a modern comic opera, with its loud orchestra and chorus, and its stage crowded with tinsel and color, as an "iridescent nightmare." When I showed him some photographs from the Cubist exhibition, he looked them over slowly, one by one, and then said, as he handed them back, "I stretch out my mind toward them; I can touch nothing." He was past-master in those refinements of Japanese civilization which are part of the education of a gentleman, in writing poetry and arranging flowers, in the formal tea-ceremony and jiu-jitsu. All these were facets of the many-sided character which the world knew; but what the world did not know was his intimate relation with the Buddhist church. His familiarity with its history and philosophy was wide and thorough; he had received the sacraments of the Tendai and Shingon sects, and had practised for some thirty years the so-called "Interior System," the system which deals with states of consciousness reached through the will and not through the senses. Of this system the document which is here presented is the foundation. It was written by Chisho Daishi (St. Chisho), a Chinese monk who came to Japan in the ninth century and founded there a Buddhist sect, which he named Tendai after the mountain on which stood the monastery from which he came. There were two of these monks. The other was Kobo Daishi, the founder of the Shingon sect in Japan. Both sects exist and flourish today, a thousand years later.

It is interesting to note that although these priests of the ninth century were companions and close friends — a relation maintained by the head priests of the two sects to this day — and although the ritual is practically identical in both sects, nevertheless the Shingon is *Shojo* ("Lesser Vehicle"), while the Tendai is *Daijo* ("Greater Vehicle"). These systems are supposed to be opposite and contradictory, but when the head of the Tendai, Okakura's first teacher, died, he referred his pupil to the head of the Shingon to continue his studies.

The present document has never before, so far as I know, been

translated into any Western language. Okakura's translation is given substantially as he left it. It embodies complete and detailed directions for reaching or acquiring the state of consciousness called Samaji, for which there is no word in English except 'ecstasy,' and this only in its etymological sense, of 'a state outside of the body,' that condition of consciousness in which the sense of personal identity is preserved and the will is in a condition of free activity, while at the same time the ordinary relations with the material universe through the five senses are cut off.

Broadly speaking, in the East men have studied themselves; in the West, what is outside themselves — that is to say, the material world, including their own physical bodies. Both in the East and West men have recognized the fact that there is an inside and an outside, and have tended to state the part of the subject which they were not studying in terms of the part which they were. In the West the tendency has been to regard the body as the man, and the phenomena of consciousness as a somewhat irregular and unclassifiable by-product, the most definite statement about it being that made thirty or forty years ago that the brain secretes consciousness as the liver secretes bile. Just now we speak of consciousness as an epiphenomenon or parallel phenomenon. The latter term is perhaps the better, for the sensory consciousness of an object is parallel with the object in the same sense as the reflection in a mirror. In the East, on the other hand, they say that the organism *is* consciousness, and that the physical body is only an item in the total of that consciousness, and a small one at that; that it is a small fragment of matter, of the existence of which consciousness takes cognizance as it does of any other portion of matter, from a pebble to a fixed star, or the receiver and transmitter of a telephone. As it is understood in the East, therefore, the study of self is the study of consciousness. There as here this study is systematic and scientific, but it differs in name on the two sides of the world. In the West it is called psychology. In the East it is called religion.

The forms of consciousness are classified in the East in various ways for various purposes. The classification which con-

cerns us in connection with this document is a division into two parts of very unequal size, the one actual and very small, the other latent and indefinitely great. We might call them by the terms applied to energy by Tyndall, dynamic and potential, or by the terms of modern psychology, the conscious and the subconscious. The division is basic and fundamental in the East, and is the starting point for the study of nature as they study it. In the West we rank organisms by the complexity of their physical structure. In the East they rank them by the complexity of their consciousness. This generalization is true both in the comparison of contemporaneous organisms and in the process of evolution. In the lower forms of organic life, that is, organisms lower than man, evolution affects preponderantly the material part of the organism and thereby the psychical part. The organism in its advance is guided by its environment along a strait and narrow path, a misstep on one side or the other of which involves prompt extermination. As long as evolution is acting in this way on the material body of the organism through the material environment, the advances made are mainly in perfection of material structure. The psychical advances are relatively trifling in extent and variety. The intellect of the lower animals is much the same. It is concentrated on the three points of safety, nutrition, and reproduction, under penalty of death. But with man the case is different. To a large extent he creates his own environment and thus determines the conditions of his own evolution. He is no longer passive to nature as he finds it. It is nature that is now passive in relation to him, and he reconstructs it to suit himself, and then attempts to live up to the conditions which he himself has created. His survival depends mainly not on how he deals with the environment he finds, but on what sort of environment he constructs.

Man, then, in the Eastern view, consists of consciousness, and in consequence the difference between one man and another necessarily consists in the extent or quality of that consciousness, or in both. The progress of evolution through successive lives is gauged by the increment of consciousness. Even in the West, the extent of the actual consciousness of daily life is

recognized as being only an infinitesimal fraction of the latent consciousness. One German writer has said that the conscious is merely the coughing of the subconscious; and someone else has spoken of the subconscious as an ocean of indefinite expanse and depth, normal consciousness being the waves on its surface. These two main divisions of consciousness form the basis of the two main divisions in the Eastern church, one of which is concerned with the so-called "normal" consciousness, that is, the actual consciousness of daily life, the other with the subconscious. The branch of the church which deals with the conduct of daily life is called in Japanese *kengyo*; *kyo* meaning 'gospel,' or 'doctrine,' or 'system,' and *ken*, literally, 'visible,' that is to say, the system which deals with the visible, or material, relations. The other branch, *mikkyo*, is the same *kyo* combined with *mitsu* or *himitsu*, meaning 'invisible,' or 'non-apparent,' in the sense of 'non-material.' The former is intended for people who live in the world, as a general guide to conduct, and consists of a set of rules for unselfish living, such as the ten commandments, by following which expansion of consciousness upward will ensue after death to a greater or less degree. The object of *mikkyo*, on the other hand, is to accomplish the expansion of consciousness during life. This is the branch of study which Okakura followed. It is pursued usually by priests, more rarely by laymen. It is methodical and systematic. The various stages of growth are accurately recognized, defined, and classified, and the study is pursued as systematically as a course in mathematics or physics or botany.

The subconscious itself may be regarded as a series of concentric zones around the individual as a centre. These zones are accessible, other things being equal, in proportion to their nearness. The nearest ones are those which are most directly connected with the daily life of the individual. Outside of this comes the daily life and interests of his family, associates, and friends. Outside of this, again, the aggregate consciousness of the community in which he habitually lives. And so on. There is no limit to it. It is like a sea, in which the finite consciousness of each individual floats like a crystal of ice, homogeneous with the fluid but separate from it. This sea of consciousness, in

which the separate individual consciousness floats, is called *ku* in Japanese and *akasa* in Sanskrit. These words are generally translated 'ether,' and have naturally given rise to a good deal of discussion which was inevitable until Western science had advanced to the point where it became aware of the existence of the subconscious. Even now the terms are not quantitative. That is to say, we have only reached the border of the subconscious. We have no idea of its extent. *Akasa* means all that we mean by the subconscious, and vastly more. The lower stages are close to the consciousness of daily life and abound in reflections of material forms; but inasmuch as the main object of the system is to get away from matter and liberate consciousness from the forms imposed on it by the material world, these early stages are necessarily a source of danger, and it is precisely to avoid this danger that the system of instruction is surrounded by so many safeguards. If a man acquires an expansion of consciousness only on the plane of his daily life, he will carry into that expanded consciousness the pursuits and interests of his daily life, which he will follow with more freedom and more force than he could under ordinary circumstances; and as every action of daily life goes to the building up of character and produces results later, the very increase of power will mean, in the case of such a man, an increase in the strength of the ties which attach him to the material world; whereas, in the Buddhist doctrine, the material world is exactly that from which he wants to get away. These interests of daily material life are the greatest difficulty in the early stages of study. They are a sort of "dweller on the threshold," to borrow Bulwer-Lytton's sententious phrase, and are merely more or less involuntary reflections or memories of the daily life and desires of the man himself. Every man is his own dweller on the threshold, and unless his fundamental aims and aspirations are high, he will have to stay there. The more intently he interests himself in his own subconscious, the more he solidifies and crystallizes the immediate interests of his own daily, human personality, which it is his main object to eliminate. If he has in his mind the ideal or conception of something better than himself, he can reach that ("All we have ever hoped or dreamed

of good shall exist"); but if he does not, he only intensifies his existing status. Not all have such ideals, and for this reason it is necessary to supply them. This is exactly what a church does. A church has a large subconscious of its own, that is, a latent or potential consciousness, which is common ground for, and accessible to, all the members of that church. Connection with this subconscious is, in the East and in some Western churches, established by certain arbitrary ceremonies called sacraments. The exact nature of these varies greatly in different churches, but the object is in every case the same — namely, to establish a subconscious connection with, and to make a common ground of, the beliefs, conceptions, and aspirations of that church; and inasmuch as the subconscious is independent of time, the available material becomes cumulative. That is to say, every member of a church has his own latent consciousness increased by the aggregate latent consciousness of all the members of that church since its foundation, including that of its founder.

The object of all meditation in all churches is the inclusion of the latent in the actual consciousness, or, to put it the other way, the extension of the actual consciousness to include the latent. There are documents giving precise instructions as to how this should be done.

I spoke at the beginning of the quality as well as of the extent of consciousness. These two are, to a certain extent, independent of each other. The actual consciousness may be good or bad; the latent consciousness, equally, may be good or bad; and up to a certain point the expansion of consciousness may be in either direction. The question of good and bad involves of course the question of right and wrong in all its ramifications. The subject looms large, but the Eastern view of it may be stated in a nutshell. It is this. The ideal condition of consciousness, the summum bonum, is complete freedom and self-determination. Anything which hinders such freedom or self-determination is, by definition, bad. Matter, following laws of its own, imposes those laws on consciousness, with which it is in contact through the body, thereby hindering freedom and self-determination. Matter, therefore, from the

point of view of consciousness, represents the other extreme. Self-determined consciousness is the highest good. Matter, hindering such self-determination, represents the extreme of evil. This is the classification from the highest point of view. From a lower point of view, matter is an essential factor in the evolution and development of organic life. The fundamental characteristics of matter, and consequently of the forms of consciousness based on matter, are limitation and discontinuity and non-identity. On the other hand, the essential characteristics of consciousness are just the opposite — continuity, identity, and absence of limitation. The consciousness of a man or an animal involves the limitations imposed on it by the matter of his body. It is by and through these limitations that he gets the habit of thinking of himself as a separate entity. The one great lesson to be learned from a material body is the sense of personal identity — the ability to say 'I.' Once this ability is acquired, the question becomes this — whether the 'I,' the sense of personal identity, can be expanded or extended outside and beyond these limitations. The Kengyo teaches how this can be done after death; the Mikkyo how it can be done during life. The method of accomplishing this expansion during life is what is described in this document.

To sum up. The essential conditions of this expansion of consciousness are three. First, it must be absolutely voluntary and under control. Secondly, the expanded consciousness must be continuous with the normal waking consciousness. Thirdly, it must not involve a loss of personal identity, though this identity need not be, and in the higher forms is not, that of the normal waking personality. It is at this point that the matter of double personality attains a definite, practical bearing. A secondary personality may be voluntarily evolved and acquired which is incomparably better and greater than the normal personality of daily consciousness.

The external world of ordinary consciousness acts as a hindrance and restraint on the action of the will but also as a safeguard. The deeper one goes into the subconscious, the more both the hindrance and the safeguard are removed. A man acts, therefore, in the subconscious with more freedom on

the one hand, but consequently, on the other hand, with more potential good or harm to himself. Hence the manifold precautions with which all religions have surrounded the act of entering the subconscious. We are dealing here with the most delicate portions of the psychical machinery, and everything counts in the result of the experiment, even motives, or those cumulative motives which we call character.

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ON THE METHOD OF PRACTISING CONCENTRATION AND CONTEMPLATION

The Gatha says:

Not to do evil,
But to promote goodness,
To purify the will,
This is the Teaching of the Buddha.

Though the ways of reaching Nirvana are manifold, their essence lies in the Two Laws of Concentration.

Concentration is the preliminary means of clearing away the accumulated trammels of ignorance; contemplation is the right method of attaining wisdom.

Concentration nourishes the mind and the senses; contemplation is the subtle art of bringing into life the spiritual faculties.

Concentration is the high beginning of Zenjo (spiritual insight); contemplation is the environment of true knowledge.

He who practises and accomplishes these two modes of meditation, shall have all the means of benefiting himself and saving others.

Thus the Hokke Sutra says:

The Buddha himself dwells in the Great Vehicle. He is glorified with the power of Concentration and Contemplation, by which he saves all living things.

Know that these two methods are like the two wheels of a chariot, or the two wings of a bird, and that he who pursues the one and neglects the other falls into evil ways.

The Sutra says:

He who practises Concentration and seeks its bliss, and ignores Contemplation, is called a fool; he who practises Contemplation and discards Concentration and its bliss is worse than a fool.

Though the effects of these mistakes are different in the two cases, yet as regards straying into misleading paths and lingering in the rounds of life the results are equally serious. One-sided growth is incompatible with perfect development.

The Sutra says:

The Shomon (Arhats and the followers of the Lesser Vehicle), because of their superior power of Concentration, cannot grasp the nature of Buddhahood. The Bodhisattvas, because of their superior power of Contemplation, cannot grasp the nature of Buddhahood. All Buddhas have their power of Concentration and Contemplation developed equally.

Are not these two methods, the main entrance into Nirvana and the Great Result, the highway for practisers to tread, the finger-post to the attainment of the complete virtue, the real form of the highest attainment? Thus the significance of these practices is profound.

In trying to open the path to beginners it is easy to talk but difficult to accomplish. Here, therefore, without entering into deep subtleties, we shall indicate ten points which show to students the first steps of approaching the truth. The student must not underestimate the difficulty of practice because the directions are couched in simple and easy language. If his mind grasp the meaning well, he may within a fortnight attain boundless wisdom; but if he dwells on the surface of the words and follow not the injunctions seriously, years shall avail him nothing. His work will be useless, like the poor man's pastime of counting his neighbor's treasure.

The ten points are:

- I. Suitable conditions.
- II. Control of desires.
- III. Discarding encumbrances.

- IV. Harmony.
- V. Higher wishes.
- VI. Practice.
- VII. Growth of powers for good.
- VIII. Knowing the evil spirits (ma).
- IX. Curing disease.
- X. The Result.

These ten points are only indications for the beginner, to be followed in a spirit which will enable him to overcome difficulties, and will bring steadfastness and illumination.

I. SUITABLE CONDITIONS

Those who have made up their minds to practise meditation must establish five suitable conditions.

1. They must keep the Kai¹ in their purity. The Sutra says that one who keeps the Kai can develop concentration and wisdom. The Bikshu must keep the Kai in all their purity. There are three classes of those who keep the Kai:

(a) Those who before becoming followers of the Buddha have not committed the Five Great Crimes and who on meeting a good teacher have become Buddhists and received the three refuges (Sanki) and the Five Injunctions (Go Kai); who when they enter the order receive the Kai of Shami (acolyte) and eventually the Kai of monk or nun, and keep these in their purity. Such are called Keepers of the Kai of the highest order. For them the practice of meditation is sure of results, even as unsoiled cloth is easily dyed.

(b) Those who break the minor Kai, though keeping the major Kai in all their purity. These can by repentance be successful practisers of meditation, even as a soiled cloth may after washing receive the dye.

(c) Those who after receiving the Kai break both the major and minor Kai, and are therefore not capable of redemption according to the Lesser Vehicle. It is the Greater Vehicle which allows repentance in the four major Kai.

¹ "Kai" means (1) sacrament, (2) commandment.

The Sutra says:

In Buddhism there are two kinds of healthy beings: those who have never done wrong and those who, having done wrong, repent.

The process of repentance involves ten factors:

- (1) Recognizing the cause and effect of the bad action.
- (2) Having great fear.
- (3) Feeling deep shame.
- (4) Trying to atone. The Daijo Sutras indicate various modes of atonement to be pursued.
- (5) Confessing the fault.
- (6) Avoiding the recurrence of similar thoughts and deeds.
- (7) Wishing to protect the Faith.
- (8) Wishing to save all living things.
- (9) Meditating on the various Buddhas.
- (10) Contemplating the non-existence [of the nature] of wrong.

If one pursue these ten methods, purify his place of meditation, put on clean robes, burn incense and scatter flowers before the Three Treasures, and repent with sincerity, his crimes shall vanish.

How shall the practiser know that his grave crimes have vanished? When on repenting sincerely he shall find that his mind is at ease and his body light and alert, when he has dreams of good portent, when he sees rare and beautiful visions, when he finds the growth of goodness in his soul, when in the midst of his meditation he feels his body like a cloud or a shadow, when he shall pass through various stages of meditation and suddenly get an insight into the nature of things, when he shall be so filled with delight in the Law that he shall be relieved of all wrong, then by these tokens he may know that his grave crimes have vanished.

If then after this he keep the Kai in their purity he may acquire the fruit of meditation, even as a torn and soiled cloth, by being sewn together and cleansed thoroughly, may receive the dye.

If the practiser wish to be relieved of the effect of his suit, he may attain the result even without performing the various

rites ordained by the Law. He must feel a thorough and deep-seated shame within himself, confess his sins to the Three Treasures, cease from the wish to repeat them, meditate steadily on the non-existence of [the nature of] sin, and dwell on thoughts of the Buddhas, and if on leaving meditation he burn incense and make obeisance to the Buddhas, repeat the Kai, and read the Sutras, he shall be redeemed from his sins. The Myoshojo Sutra says:

When man has committed grave sins, when he has a fear therefrom and wants relief, there is nothing but Meditation (Zenjo) to help him. Such a man must sit in a quiet place and control his mind and read the Sutra, then he shall have redemption and feel himself attain the Sammadhi.

2. Concerning dress and food.

Garments may be of three kinds:

(a) The first is like that of the Himalayan hermit who contents himself with any garment that covers his body. This is possible to those who do not mingle with people and whose power of endurance is strong.

(b) The second is like that of Kashiapa, who followed the way of the mendicant, keeping only three garments discarded by men and no other.

(c) The third is for cold countries and people who are not strong and enduring. The Buddha has allowed such to retain one hundred and one articles beside these garments of the mendicants. But the important thing is to know cleanliness, to know proportion, to know contentment, and to shun covetousness and not accumulate things to disturb the mind.

There are four kinds of food:

(a) The first is that of the hermit away from the world in the distant hills who feeds himself with the herbs and fruits which nature affords.

(b) The second is that of the mendicant who begs food according to the precepts. This, if practised rightly, leads to the saintly path. There are four evil ways of eating which must be avoided, namely, eating with mouth downward, eating with mouth upward, eating with mouth shut, eating with mouth squared — these being the evil modes of eating which Saliputra taught Seimoku to avoid.

(c) The third is the food offered to the monastery by benefactors.

(d) The fourth is the food eaten in the congregation of monks.

These dresses and foods tend to impart tranquillity to the mind.

3. Concerning abode.

It is necessary to secure tranquillity and freedom from disturbance in the abodes of practisers. There are three kinds of quiet abodes:

(a) The first is deep in the mountains far from the haunts of men.

(b) The second is a monastery in the wilderness, three or four miles distant from villages, where the noise of grazing cattle is not heard.

(c) The third is a clean temple not disturbed by laymen.

4. Concerning the abandonment of occupations of the following four kinds:

(a) Gainful occupations.

(b) Social duties, such as calling on lay friends and relations, and all sorts of mundane intercourse.

(c) Artistic and mechanical occupations and worldly skilled work — giving medicine, writing charms, prophesying, and the like.

(d) All ordinary study, reading, and hearing discourse.

It is essential that the mind be free and undisturbed by such activities.

5. Concerning the necessity of obtaining good friends. Good friends are of three kinds:

(a) The first provides for the student's external needs, and furnishes him the means of pursuing his practice undisturbed.

(b) The second is the student's associate as companion and helper.

(c) The third is the Master, who leads the student through the various gates of the Zenjo.

II. CONTROL OF DESIRES

This section relates to the five desires which a student of meditation must restrain and repel. These five desires pertain to perceptions of form, sound, fragrance, taste, and touch, which enthral ordinary mortals and absorb their attention. To overcome these desires one must know the nature of the faults involved and avoid them.

1. Desires pertaining to form.

The form of man or woman, beauty of face and figure, clear eyes and long eyebrows, red lips and white teeth, and also blue, yellow, red, purple, and other enticing colors, are a source of delight and desire to foolish minds. Thus King Bimbisara was captivated by the wiles of a courtesan, and lost himself in an enemy's country; and King Udynana, through infatuation for a woman, cut off the hands and feet of five hundred Rishi.

2. Desires pertaining to sounds. The harp, the hautboy, the flute, various sounds of the string and the bamboo, of metal and stone, and also the voices of men and women, singing and chanting — such sounds attract the foolish and betray them into sin. Thus the five hundred Rishi of the Himalaya, on hearing the song of the woman Kandara, lost their power of concentration and became intoxicated with the music.

3. Desires pertaining to fragrance. The aroma of man or woman, of food and drink, and various incenses and perfumes arouse in the foolish a sense of longing and love.

4. Desires pertaining to taste. The sweet, the sour, the bitter, the salt, and the astringent — such flavors lead one to dwell on the joys of the palate and thereby engender lust and indulgence. Thus for his inordinate love of butter a greedy young anchorite was reborn as a mite in butter.

5. Desires pertaining to touch. Whereas the body of man and woman, from its smoothness and softness, its coolness in summer and warmth in winter, and its various modes of sweet sensation, is a pitfall to the foolish and ignorant, whereby they are led to commit follies and sins, therefore it is a danger to be well guarded against. Even Ikkaku Rishi, with his supernatural

powers, was enticed by a courtesan, who triumphantly put her foot on his neck.

Such are the five desires which ought to be quelled. Alas! the living world, though troubled by these desires, yet longs for them, adding fuel incessantly to the flames. The five desires have really no pleasure in them, only the delight which a dog gets out of gnawing a dry bone. The five desires are a source of discord, a piece of meat for which hungry birds fight. The five desires burn man, like a torch held against the wing of a bird. They are as dangerous as a venomous serpent when trodden on. They are unreal as the content of a dream. They are transitory as a spark struck out of flint. The wise consider them as treacherous enemies, the foolish court them until death, and know not what trouble they bring in later lives.

These five desires are what man has in common with beasts, who are the slaves of desires, and he is enchained thereby to the wheel of painful existences. The student of meditation must understand that desire is destructive and must be repelled. The Gatha says:

That life and death cease not is owing to lust and desire. Man nurses an enemy even in his touch, and this fosters trouble and pain. The nine cavities of the body all exude impurity, this the foolish know not, and take delight in them as worms revel in dung. The wise contemplate the body but are not moved by mundane pleasures. To achieve non-attachment is to achieve non-desire — this is called the true Nirvana. With single-minded practice, according to the teaching of the Buddha, count your breath and meditate. This is the way of the monks.

III. DISCARDING ENCUMBRANCES

There are five kinds of encumbrances which ought to be discarded.

The first encumbrance is that of covetousness. In the former chapter we have talked of the five desires which are external. This relates to the internal desires which need to be discarded. The practiser, when he is entering on the Path, may feel in his inner soul various desires which continually encumber his good thoughts, and it is important that these should be eradicated. It is said of Gipaka that the fire of his inner desires was strong enough to burn his body, and it is possible that the fire will

burn the seeds of goodness in the student. The soul that has desires has no way of reaching the goal.

The Gatha says of one who has repented and entered the Path, who holds the begging bowl in order to save mankind:

Why should he linger in the five emotions even like the foolish one who eats what he has vomited? All desires give trouble when we try to satisfy them. They give fear, when once attained, of losing their objects, and produce worry when they are lost. Thus they are not a source of pleasure in any sense. One who gets the real pleasure of meditation is not confounded by such desires.

The second encumbrance is that of anger. Anger is the root of losing the Buddhist law, the means of falling into the evil path, the enemy of spiritual delight, the thief of righteousness, the storehouse of evil tongues. One thinks of the wrong done to him in this life, of the wrong done to one near him, of the delight our enemies have in our discomfiture. These cause in the past, present, and future nine kinds of worry, thereby forcing anger, and through anger hate, and through hate the wish to injure others. Such are the encumbrances arising from anger. It is necessary that they should not be nurtured but speedily discarded.

Daivana once asked of Buddha in the Gatha, "What kills peace and pleasure, and what is the fundamental poison which destroys all good?" The Buddha answered in the Gatha, "By killing anger one gets peace and happiness. Anger is the fundamental poison, anger destroys all goodness." If one knows this clearly he should through benevolence and patience destroy anger and have the pure mind.

The third encumbrance is that of sleep. Sleep is the darkness of the soul. When darkness is on the five senses, it enervates the limbs until it ends in sleep, and thus retards the benefit to be acquired from real knowledge in this world, the chances of being born in Heaven and the pleasure of living in Nirvana. Sleepfulness is the most dangerous of the encumbrances which exist in our conscious state and can be discarded at will. Sleepfulness, clouding the will itself, is difficult to contend with. The Bodhisattvas have admonished their pupils repeatedly in the Gatha, saying:

Arise, do not recline with thine own stinking corpse. Thou hast a heavy sickness which is like an arrow in thy body. Thou art even like the man who is bound and about to be slain. Thou art sleeping with a poisonous serpent in the same chamber. Thou art in battle with swords clashing over thy head. What time hast thou to sleep? Sleep is the great darkness in which thou seest nothing. Thou art bereft of sight by sleep.

If the practiser feels the spirit too heavy on him he should use the whip of Zen in order to drive it off.

The fourth encumbrance is that of restlessness and the remorse thereof. Restlessness is of three kinds. The first kind is the restlessness of the body when one wants to play and sport and does not like quietness. Second is the restlessness of the mouth when one loves singing and chattering, discussing the right and wrong, and indulging in useless gossip. Third is the restlessness of the mind, when one has scattered thoughts, and likes to dwell among the mundane pleasures of literature. All this is an encumbrance to meditation, making the mind like a drunken elephant unchained, or a camel without a nose-ring. Such have to be discarded, but the remorse attendant on discarding is also a source of encumbrance. Remorse is of two kinds — one rising out of the remorse of restlessness, the other out of the great fear which endures with one who has committed grave crimes, even like an arrow which has entered the body and can not be drawn out. The Gatha says:

To do things which ought not to be done, not to do things which ought to be done, and through these faults to be burned in the fire of troubles, is the lot of the foolish man. If one repents of his crimes and after repenting feels no worry again, he is in the way of attaining peace.

The fifth encumbrance is that of doubt. Doubt is the main encumbrance which stops attainment. One who approaches Buddhism with doubt is like a man who enters a treasure-house without hands. No one who has deep doubts can have true Concentration. Doubts are of three kinds. The first is doubt in himself. When the practiser thinks that his own powers are limited and his faults in the past too grave to attain the truth, with such Concentration will be impossible. The student should not think lightly of himself, because, though he may have shortcomings, his merit in past incarnations may redeem him.

The second kind of doubt is doubting the Master, thinking that the Master is imperfect in deportment or knowledge or unfit to teach. The student ought to guard himself against such consideration. The Sutra has said of such teachers that gold has been stored in evil-smelling bags; that one must not discard the precious gift on account of its ugly covering. One should think of the Master even as the Buddha himself. The third kind is the doubt in the law itself. Ordinary men uphold their own standpoint and do not believe in accepting teachings, and even if they believe they do not practise it with due respect. If there is a hesitancy in accepting the law, there is no means of the soul being permeated with this essence. The Gatha says:

Even as a man who is on a divided path and knows not which way to go, thus doubt stops a student on his path. All doubt arises out of ignorance. In wickedness and goodness, in life and death, in Nirvana there is a fundamental law which it is dangerous to doubt. One who doubts is like a man in the hand of an executioner, even like the deer in the claws of a lion, and shall have no means of escape.

Belief is the means of entering Buddhism. Those who have no belief shall acquire nothing. By discarding the five encumbrances one gets freed from eighty-four thousand bonno.² He is like one who has paid a heavy debt, or one cured of a serious illness, or a famished person entering into a land of plenty, or a man rescued from a band of robbers. His mind shall be peaceful and calm like the sun and the moon, without a cloud and mist to darken their brightness.

IV. HARMONY

The student, when beginning meditation, shall make a vow to help all living beings and to pursue the highest road. His soul must be hard like the diamond, diligent, courageous up to the point of giving up life. He must not recede a step until all is accomplished. The student on entering Buddhism shall think on the reality of all laws and the various considerations of the good and the non-good and the four sensations of the

² "Bonno" means a vice, or bad habit. "Eighty-four thousand" is used to mean 'a great number,' 'thousands.'

inner and outer world; of the law of bonno and the karma of life and death; on the existence of the three worlds in the soul itself; then he shall begin his practice and first obtain harmony. Like the potter, who, before he prepares his utensils, will skillfully knead his clay so that it shall not be too hard nor too soft, that it may roll well on his wheel; or even like a man playing on the harp, who tunes his strings that they may be in true measure so that beautiful music may be made on them; — so the practiser has to tune his soul in the following five ways. This will bring the samadji to appear sooner, for when the mind is not in tune then there shall be disturbances and the difficulty of accomplishing good results.

First, it is necessary to regulate food. If the food is in excess, the breath will be quick, the body full, the mind will be obscured, which will cause unrest. If the food is too scant, the body will be weak, the mind hollow, and the will not strong. These two extremes are to be avoided. If one eats unclean things, it obscures the mind and senses. If one eats unwholesome things, it leads to sickness and makes the four elements at variance with one another. This must be kept in mind at the beginning. The Sutra says:

When the body is peaceful the power is increased. To know the proportion of drink and food gives calmness, and through calmness comes progress.

Secondly, to regulate sleep. Sleep is the shroud of ignorance and must not be allowed to have free play. If one sleeps too much, it dulls the mind to the perception of spiritual things and interferes with good practice. One must regulate sleep to have the spirit in calmness and purity. The Sutra says:

On the first watch and on the last watch do not forget to practise, for through sleep one passes life uselessly and attains no results.

Thirdly, fourthly, and fifthly, to regulate respectively the body, the breath, and the mind. These three should be in union and there should not be separate instruction for each. There are three stages in meditation: the entrance, the continuance (that is, the meditation itself), and the going out. When one first enters into meditation he shall prepare his body so that all his movements, going, staying, advancing, walking,

sitting, and other movements, shall be calm. There shall be no roughness or coarseness in his movements, because thereby the breath would be rough, making his thoughts to be scattered. While sitting the body should be restful. On entering meditation one should choose the right place, and when the bench is chosen he shall see that all is soft and correct, that it shall be a place for long and easy sitting. Then he should look to his legs, and if it is the half seat (half cross), place the left leg over the right, pull it toward the body until the left toe shall be on the same level as the right knee. In case of full seat place the right leg on the left leg. Then loosen and adjust the garments. Next put your left hand on the palm of your right, place the two hands on your left leg, draw it toward your body and place it near the heart. Next take the right position for your body. Move your body and your limbs backward and forward seven or eight times to feel that they are easily and comfortably in position. After this sit up straight, having the spinal column bent neither forward nor backward. Have your head in position so that the nose and the navel shall be on the same line. Have everything easy and not strained. Next blow out the accumulated breath. In doing this open your mouth and breathe outward, but not in a hurry. Let it be continuous and free. Think that all parts of your organs are ventilated. After this is done shut your mouth and draw in the pure air through the nose. Do it about three times. If you feel that you are in good condition, once will do. Next, in shutting the mouth let the lips and teeth touch each other lightly, the tongue to be toward the roof of the mouth, not touching it. Then shut the eyes to the point of not shutting out the outer light. Then sit like a stone, and do not allow the body or limbs to move. The idea in thus regulating the body is that it may not be too rigid or too relaxed.

The regulating of the breath is of four kinds: the wind, the sigh, the air, and the breath. The first three kinds are not regular breathing, the last is correct. In the first, there is a noise when the breath goes out and in — a panting. In the “sigh” there is no noise, but the breathing is irregular. The “air” is without noise and yet not delicate. The “breath”

is when it is noiseless, delicate; when the exhalation and inhalation are continuous, almost imperceptible. This will help spirituality and there shall be delight in your capacity to do more. If you use the "wind," your breath will be scattered; if the "sigh," your thought will be intermittent; if the "air," you will be tired. If the "breath," you will have rest.

The way to regulate the mind is of three kinds:

(a) Fix the attention on the centre of the body, the solar plexus.

(b) Feel the freedom of the body.

(c) Think of your breath as passing through all the pores of the body.

The breath should be very slight — the minimum. This is when you enter meditation. The secret of regulating the breath is in making it not too smooth and not too harsh.

The regulation of the mind when you have entered meditation is two-fold. One is to quell all wandering thoughts and not let them float or sink. When the mind is dark and has no remembrance, and the head has a tendency to fall forward, then let your thought be on an imaginary object at the end of the nose. Look at the tip of the nose. Floating thoughts come when the body is not perfectly at ease. Then place your thought downward and fix the thought in the neighborhood of the solar plexus.

In the aspect of meditation there are two kinds of faults, excessive laxity and excessive strictness. If one is too zealous, there will be an acute pain felt in the breast. In this event take it easily and think that all your breath flows downward. If there is too much laxity when one enters meditation, the body will feel tired, the mouth will water, and darkness will come over the mind. Then one should concentrate more, and steady his body. The essence of regulating the soul lies in coming to a fineness of focus instead of diffuseness. The way of staying in meditation is three-fold. The first is to know that the body, the breath, and the mind are all regular. One shall see that when the body is in regular position the breath shall be equally regular; and when these two are regular the mind will also be regular, so that all three shall be in tune.

In coming out of meditation one should stop concentration and think of other things. He should open his mouth and freely exhale, with the thought that the breath passes through all the organs of the body; then slowly move the body, then move the shoulders and hands, then move the legs until you feel that they are not stiff. Then with your hands massage all parts of the body. Then rub your hands together to make them warm. Then rub the eyelids before opening the eyes. Wait until the heat of your body ceases. It is time then to cease meditation. If one does not do this he will feel a headache and pain in the bones like rheumatic pains, and shall not get ease in later meditations. The essence of this process is to return to the coarseness after the fineness.

The Gatha says that there is an order in going and stopping; the fineness and coarseness must be regulated like the training of a horse, in which there are methods of running and stopping.

V. UTILITY (HIGHER WISHES)

Those studying meditation should have five objects in view:

1. The wish to be freed from all mundane misconceptions and falsehood, and to attain true wisdom. This thought constitutes a wish, a prayer, and a pleasure. It is a higher desire for the deeper delights of the law. As Buddha said, "All goodness, even, comes of desire."

2. Diligence. To keep the Kai, to reject the five impediments, to apply yourself assiduously in the first and last watch in the night, to practise continuously until the truth is attained, even like the driller of fire who continues drilling until the spark is got.

3. To know that the worldly knowledge is to be despised and that only Zenjo is to be valued, that through Zenjo you shall develop higher intelligence and supernatural powers for saving mankind.

4. To know the relative value of spiritual and mundane pleasures. Mundane pleasures are evanescent, affording more pain than joy, whereas the pleasures of the Zenjo are eternal and entirely free from pain.

5. Singlemindedness. When one sees the superiority of the spiritual attainments over the mundane he must set his mind to the single purpose of arriving at them, even as the traveller who has studied the topography of a place, and chooses and pursues the straightest road. The Sutra says: "Without wisdom there is no Zen, without Zen there is no wisdom."

VI. PRACTICE

The practice of meditation is of two kinds, namely, the sitting meditation and meditation in various postures and circumstances.

A

Sitting meditation is fruitful of results and is the best way for students. There are five different modes in sitting meditation.

1. To cure the turmoil of the mind at the beginning of sitting. One will feel the mind at unrest when entering meditation. He should practise concentration to conquer unrest. If this does not work, he should practise contemplation. There are three kinds of concentration to stop unrest:

(a) The concentration of mind on a spot. This is to focus the mind on the tip of the nose or the navel, etc., as the Sutras say, to chain a playing monkey.

(b) To control the mind. When a thought occurs, control it and do not let it run off by itself.

(c) Fundamental concentration. To know the non-reality of things and not to dwell on thoughts, is the way of stopping thoughts.

When the student finds that these are still inadequate to stop restlessness of mind, he should dwell in contemplation and think that existeth not, the present is only transient, and the future not within reach, that all modes of thought in the three tenses are intangible, that things are and are not. He should feel that all perception is the result of the six inner senses acting and reacting on the six sensual worlds, that existence and non-existence is a nominal distinction, that out of the cessation of existence and non-existence the tranquillity of the Nirvana

is born. To know clearly that all being is in the mind, and that the mind itself is formless, is the way to attain restfulness. If one concentrates too much, there is danger of causing insanity. By contemplation one gradually enters into the regular path, even like a student of archery, who, though he may at first shoot wide of the mark, by practice will hit the bull's-eye.

There are two kinds of contemplation:

(a) The contemplation of antithesis. Such is the contemplation of Impurities, in order to cure covetous desires; the contemplation of Benevolence, in order to cure anger; the contemplation of Equality, in order to cure selfishness; the counting of the Breath, in order to cure the ebullition of thoughts.

(b) The regular contemplation. This is to contemplate the formlessness of things, which is caused by In-en (cause and environment); to know the unreality of In-en is to arrive at the reality of things.

2. To cure the disease of floating and sinking thoughts. When the student in meditation feels that his mind is not clear, with his memory gone and a tendency to drowsiness, this is the sinking mood. Then he should practise contemplation. If on the other hand he is restless and uneasy, this is the floating mood and he should practise concentration.

3. It may sometimes happen that either of these methods may not be sufficient to produce the desired result; then the student is at liberty to practise either concentration or contemplation as best suits himself. The main object is to get restfulness and cessation of worry.

4. When the student has conquered restlessness and entered into meditation, he will, from the nature of the mind in meditation (Zo), feel an elation and a pleasure. If one dwells too much on this pleasurable state he will nurse a bonno. This is to be cured again either by concentration or contemplation.

5. To develop the power of contemplation and concentration symmetrically. If one enters the Zenzo through concentration, he is apt to lack wisdom; it is known as the foolish Zo. One finds difficulty in rising above himself and is clogged at each step of advancement. Then he should practise contemplation. If one enters the Zenzo through contemplation, he is apt to lack

power. It is like a torch, however bright it may be, that flickers in the wind. Then he should practise concentration, and he shall find the flame burning steadily.

B

To practise meditation in varied posture and circumstance. Though sitting is the best posture to practise meditation, one who has no opportunity continuously to practise sitting must not fail to pursue his studies as circumstances permit. These circumstances are of six kinds: 1. Walking; 2. Standing; 3. Resting; 4. Reclining; 5. Working; 6. Talking.

The student when walking should think on the object of the walk, whether or not it is for the sake of bonno and for the purpose of evil. If for bonno and evil he should stop walking. To practise concentration in walking is to dwell on the various bonno and matters of good and bad which arise from the fact of walking, to know that the fact of walking and things pertaining to walking are intangible. This is to stop the rising of restless thought.

To practise contemplation in walking is to think that walking is a motion of the body caused by the will, but that the will itself has no form as walking — that the walker and things pertaining to walking are empty and at rest.

The same is to be practised in standing, resting, reclining, working, and talking.

Next is the practice of meditation in relation to the senses and the world of senses — the eye and forms; the ear and sound; the nose and smell; the tongue and taste; the body and touch; the mind and law.

(a) To concentrate in the case of vision is to think that form is like the reflection of the moon in water and has no reality, not to arouse covetousness on seeing desirable forms, not to arouse anger and worry on seeing undesirable forms, not to arouse wonder and criticism on seeing things neither desirable nor undesirable.

(b) To contemplate in the case of vision is to think that all the visual world arises out of an aggregation of In-en, which is empty in itself, that it produces the visual sense which leads

to mind-sense (perception), thereby causing variety of form and the world of bonno and good and evil, but that the mind itself has no form. The same is to be practised in sound, smell, taste, and touch. Of the mind we have indicated the mode in the instance of first entering meditation. One who can practise concentration and contemplation in his walk, standing, resting, etc., may be said to be a true student of the Great Vehicle. The Taihon Sutra says:

The Buddha said to Subodi, If the Bosatsu when he walks know walking itself, when he sits know sitting itself, even unto the putting on of his garments, and with singlemindedness go in and out of the Zenzo, such a one shall be called the Bosatsu of the Great Vehicle.

He who can practise the Great Vehicle in all places shall be peerless and foremost in the world.

VII. GROWTH OF POWERS FOR GOOD

The student of meditation who practises successfully shall find that he is purified in body and spirit, and at the same time be conscious of various powers for good awakening in him. Powers for good are of two kinds. The External are the instinct of alms-giving, of keeping the Kai, of reverence to parents and elders, of respect for the Three Treasures, of understanding of the law, and the like. The external interests, if they do not grow out of true practice, are often confounded with developments.

The internal instincts are those related to the Zenzo and are of five kinds:

(a) The development of true and good breathing. The student shall find that his mind is at rest and oblivious of the existence of the mind and body. Then, after two or three sittings or after a month or two, a different mode of breathing will come which is almost akin to non-breathing. He shall feel movement in the mind and body, pain, itching, coldness, warmth, lightness, heaviness, stiffness, and hardness over the body, and then if he persists in the Zo, a pleasure will be felt which is impossible to describe. This is the development of the faculty of good breathing. The student shall know the length and shortness of his exhalation and inhalation, and feel

that the pores of his skin are open. Then with his mind's eye he will see thirty-six objects inside his body, even as one sees the grains on opening a granary. He will be greatly astonished and delighted.

(b) The faculty of seeing impurity is developed when one sees the uncleanness of his own flesh and the bones inside his body. He may also see the impurity in the fowls, beasts, garments, food, houses, and landscapes around him.

(c) The faculty of benevolence is developed when the student feels indescribable pleasure when his friends are pleased, which may be even in case of indifferent persons, enemies, and all moving creatures. His face on arising from a meditation shall be sweet and tender.

(d) The faculty of contemplating In-en is developed when the student suddenly gets an insight into the past life, and is able to judge what was the fault in past actions, and feels a delight in this knowledge.

(e) The faculty of contemplating the various Buddhas is developed when the student suddenly sees the various Buddhas in their glory and power, and delights in the vision of such helpers to mankind. The student shall feel a pure and restful pleasure, and when he arises from meditation he shall feel his body light and free, and his demeanor shall be such as to inspire love and respect in others.

The development of such faculty is to be distinguished from the false or evil developments. If in any of these developments the student feels that his body sways to and fro, or that the body is heavy as if pressed down, or even light as if able to fly, or when he feels as if he were bound by cords, when he feels shivery cold or excessive heat, when he feels excitement and delirious pleasure, or sinks into sorrow and despondency, when he feels frightened, so as to have his hair stand on end, or great joy like intoxication, such are the symptoms of the false Zo. If one stays in such conditions he is liable to become insane. The demons take advantage of his weakness and lend their powers to manifest the evil Zo, evil wisdom, and evil miraculous powers. The foolish mistake these demoniacal powers for the true fruits of the Path and believe in them. This is demonola-

try and such practisers eternally separate themselves from Buddha and fall into the way of demons. The student must guard himself from such, and must not give attention to miraculous manifestations. The development of true faculty is clear, pure, a quiet joy in the inner soul, without desire for worldly things, and marked by freedom and ease in going out of or entering meditation.

VIII. KNOWING THE EVIL SPIRITS (MA)

The ma attempt to destroy the good faculties of living things, and let them roll on the wheel of Life and Death. Thus the higher a man attains the more he shall feel the strength of the ma. There are various kinds of ma, of which the chief consists of the demons.

Demons are of three kinds:

1. Demons of the hours. The demons that preside over the twelve hours change themselves into many forms — a young maiden, a venerable man, etc., to the confusion of the student. They are the spirits of these twelve beasts: the tiger, the rabbit, the dragon, the serpent, the horse, the goat, the monkey, the cock, the dog, the boar, the rat, the ox. They may be driven away by recognizing them and calling on their names.

2. The meddling demons. These are like stinging insects which annoy the practiser at all times and tempt him to break the Kai. If the student be firm enough and dwell in the Kai, they will vanish easily.

3. The troublesome demons. These annoy the student by assuming various guises, such as parents, brothers, Buddha and bodhisattvas, fine men and lovely women, tigers, lions, and other fearful shapes. They create manifold sounds, smells, tastes, etc., to mislead him. If the student will not feel attachment, sorrow, anger, and drowsiness when they come, he is safe. The Gatha says:

Desire is the first battalion of the ma, sorrow the second, thirst and hunger the third, longing the fourth, sleep the fifth, fear the sixth, doubt the seventh, anger the eighth, vanity the ninth, pride the tenth. Such are the army which attack the practiser of the Zenjo.

The ma can be repelled in two ways:

(a) By concentration. To know that the world of ma is false, and not to worry nor fear it. To keep the mind unmoved is the way of quelling them.

(b) By contemplation. If concentration does not suffice, contemplate the fundamental equality (Byodo) of the world of Buddha and ma, that ma is not to be despised nor to be approved.

4. Express not delight when the ma vanishes. The foolish one attaches importance to their manifestations and often becomes insane. The fault does not lie in the ma but in himself. The essential point is to be sure of yourself and not worry though they may trouble you for months and years. It is therefore necessary that the beginner should have a good instructor to teach him how to deal with the ma and shingons (dharanis). Otherwise his mind will be maddened, he will worry and rejoice alternately, and become sick and die. He may attain the evil Zenjo and learn the evil mystic charms, to the ultimate confusion of himself and others. To be unmoved and not to notice is important.

IX. CURING DISEASE

If the student does not know how to regulate and harmonize breath, mind, and body, he will bring out any sickness latent in him. It is important that the student should know the form in which sickness manifests itself and the method of curing it. Though the forms of sickness are manifold, it is mainly due to two causes:

(1) Increase or decrease in the four elements. If it be an increase of the earth element, there will be swelling, heaviness, and leanness of the body. If it be increase of the water element, there will be indigestion, pleurisy, colic, dysentery, etc. If it be increase of the fire element, there will be fever, pains in the limbs, foul breath, constipation, etc. If it be increase of the wind element, there will be shivering and pain of the body, trouble of the lungs, vomiting, etc.

(2) Disease owing to the disturbing of the five organs. The disturbance of the heart causes coldness and heat in the body,

headache, and drying of the mouth, etc.; that of the lungs causes swelling of the body, pain in the limbs, closing up of the nostrils, etc.; that of the liver causes melancholia and anger, bad eyesight and dizziness; that of the spleen causes pain on the body and face and loss of appetite; that of the kidneys trouble of the throat, swelling of the abdomen, and deafness in the ear.

There are also external conditions which combine with these internal causes to produce sickness. Sickness may also be caused by the action of demons and by the result of past incarnations. Sickness ought to be attended to speedily. It is difficult to cure when allowed to remain unattended.

Sickness may be cured by meditation. One master said, Keep your mind one inch under the navel, a place which is called Udana, and sickness will be generally cured. Another master has said, Keep your mind under your feet in walking, sitting, and reclining; this will cure sickness. These instructions are owing to the fact that the mind is situate in the higher part of the body and disturbs the equilibrium of the four elements in the lower part of the body.

A master has said, To deny the sickness is a method of curing sickness. This is because keeping the mind at rest is pleasurable and leads to the cessation of pain.

The methods of curing sickness are manifold. It can be accomplished by using different kinds of breathing: (1) the upper breath; (2) the lower breath; (3) the full breath; (4) the continuous breath; (5) the vanishing breath; (6) the hot breath; (7) cold breath; (8) quick breath; (9) contained breath; (10) harmonious breath.

(1) cures heaviness; (2) cures lightness; (3) leanness; (4) debility; (5) too much vigor; (6) coldness; (7) heat; (8) interruption; (9) shivering; (10) weakness.

The student may also use appropriate medicine (metal, stone, grass, wood) to cure sickness.

Demoniac sickness can be cured by a firm mind with the help of shingon.

Sickness arising from the effects of past incarnation can be cured by repentance and virtuous actions.

X. THE RESULT

When the student practises meditation, and knows that all things arise out of the mind; that cause and effect and environment are empty and illusory; that because of their emptiness all laws are not real, then he shall see no need to attain Buddhahood nor any desire to save mankind. This stage is called Yegan (Eye of Wisdom). If one dwell in this stage, he falls into the position of Shomon and Arhats. The Sutra says:

All Shomon take pride in saying, I shall not be glad even if I hear the Buddha has appeared and is teaching mankind, for all laws are non-existent, with no birth or death.

Such a one makes nothingness the true standard. He cannot arrive at the spirit of Bodhi by his own power of concentration, nor approach Buddhahood. True Bodhisattvas must not stay there and form attachment and love for emptiness. At this stage he must enter into the contemplation of the illusory, dwelling on the thought that though the mind is itself vacant, by relation and opposition it creates things and distinctions, that out of the distinction of things come the innumerable creatures of the Six Paths which it is desirable to lead to the truth. This is called the Byodo Kan (Contemplation of Equality), and is also called Hogen (Eye of the Law).

These two modes are not ultimate and real. The truth is in knowing that the nature of the soul is neither empty nor illusory, in the Middle Path which contains and at the same time transcends emptiness and illusion.

The Middle Path is the universal knowledge — the eye of the Buddha. Through its power one can clearly see the Buddha and rest in the Great Vehicle. One can sit quietly and yet go fast as the wind, arrive at the abode of Buddha, wear the garment of Buddha, ornament himself with the glory of Buddha. He shall have purity in the six senses and be cognizant of all. He shall be friends with Monju and Fugen and dwell in the body of the Law. He shall appear in the Tusita Heaven, descend into the world, achieve monkhood, attain enlightenment, and reach Nirvana.

The Bosatsu at the first opening of the soul already attains the true enlightenment; the beginning is the end. Buddhahood is the ultimate Contemplation, Nirvana is the ultimate Concentration. In Concentration and Contemplation is the whole of Buddhist achievements. The Konkyomyo Sutra says:

The Buddha at the beginning is a mystery; the Buddha at the middle stage is covered with glory; the Buddha at the later stage is the indestructible.

A Gatha in the Hanshu Saumei Sutra says:

All Buddhas in their minds have got freedom. The mind of itself is pure and stainless. All Paths are clean and have no color and form. The student of this truth attains the Great Road.

The practiser must, however, first divest himself of the five encumbrances. Unless he does this, his efforts will be useless.

THE AUTONOMY OF MEDIAEVAL PHILOSOPHY

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IN an article entitled "Recent Tendencies in Roman Catholic Theology," in the number of this REVIEW for July 1922, Dr. George La Piana has criticised my interpretation of the history of mediaeval philosophy.

I

My fundamental thesis is that in the thirteenth century there is a distinction between philosophy and theology, and that philosophy has an autonomous value. For Dr. La Piana, on the contrary, there is properly speaking no "consistent and independent philosophical system" (p. 251). Philosophy is the handmaiden of theology, and a view such as mine is an artificial construction, abandoned by mediaevalists, and in process of disintegration.

Now one need scarcely recall the assertions of mediaeval thinkers who insisted upon this distinction between philosophy and theology.¹ For Dr. La Piana is unwilling to accept their testimony in the matter. But since he prefers modern interpreters, may we perhaps follow him on his own ground. Is it then true that modern investigators have abandoned the view of an autonomous mediaeval philosophy?

At the very moment of the appearance of Dr. La Piana's article, one of these mediaevalists, M. Étienne Gilson, professor of mediaeval philosophy at the University of Paris, emphasizes this independence as an uncontested fact:²

¹ Not only the great writers of the thirteenth century, such as Thomas Aquinas, are explicit upon this distinction, but many other less known writers agree in making it. Such, for example, is the *Summa Philosophica* of an anonymous author of the thirteenth century, recently published by Baur — one of the most remarkable treatises of pure speculative philosophy. The results of the recent investigations of E. K. Rand and F. Klingner on Boethius indicate that the differentiation of philosophy from theology already appears in the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*.

² Étienne Gilson, *Études de philosophie médiévale*, Strasbourg, 1921.

On a longtemps considéré comme allant de soi que l'essence même du thomisme se réduisait à une confusion naïve entre la philosophie et la théologie. On commence à reconnaître que il n'en fut rien. . . . Le thomisme est une des manifestations les plus caractéristiques de l'indépendance de la raison humaine (p. 76).

S. Thomas est le premier des philosophes modernes au sens plein de ce mot: . . . il est le premier occidental dont la pensée ne soit asservie ni à un dogme ni à un système. . . . Lorsque les travaux nécessaires auront établi que, comme Albert le Grand et S. Thomas ont restauré pour nous l'idée de philosophie, Robert Grossetête et Roger Bacon réinventèrent pour nous l'empirisme, on renoncera peut être à la dangereuse habitude de faire commencer au XVII^e s. l'histoire de la philosophie moderne (pp. v f.).

Le thomisme, dans ce qu'il a de plus profond et de plus original, c'est cet effort même d'honnêteté philosophique, d'acceptation totale des exigences du réel et de la raison (p. 124).

The whole work of Professor Gilson strikes this note. And it is interesting to observe that he is the successor of M. Picavet, whose misinterpretation of mediaeval speculations as a kind of philosophico-theological pot-pourri has been considered inadequate.

Another writer, Mr. Clement Webb of Oxford, in his *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Theology* (Oxford, 1915) points out that the correction of Pfeiderer's views — with contentions similar to those of Dr. La Piana — constitutes the point of departure of his own work. He maintains, "that in respect to the middle ages the actual extent of the disabilities imposed by the Church upon the freedom of speculation might easily be exaggerated" (p. 138). Moreover, he considers the doctrines of Anselm, of Abelard, of Thomas Aquinas, as valuable contributions to the philosophy of religion.

More recently, Mr. Philip Wicksteed in his Hibbert Lectures on *The Reactions between Dogma and Philosophy* (London, 1920) has expressed himself in a similar vein.

Finally, the distinguished researches of Professor Baeumker and his school, of Grabmann and of Mandonnet and Ehrle, have sufficiently corroborated the thesis which I have striven to maintain. The autonomy of mediaeval philosophy is not then quite so fully discredited as Dr. La Piana would have us believe.

II

The question of whether one is to acknowledge the existence of a "common synthesis" among mediaeval thinkers is of less importance. What I mean is, that there is a twofold methodological procedure to which historians of philosophy have long been committed. The philosophical systems may be viewed either with emphasis on their differential aspect, or with reference to their common doctrines. Those who follow the former of these methods limit themselves more strictly to the chronological succession of systems, while those who follow the latter find their interests in the transmission and the affiliation of common systematic elements.

The existence of such a "common synthesis" in mediaeval philosophy is the thesis which I have undertaken to maintain; and it may be studied as one studies the *type* of a Gothic cathedral, or of a mediaeval city of the thirteenth century. Thus, objections against M. Émile Mâle's studies of the type of the Gothic cathedral would hardly be in point.³ This conception of a "common synthesis" is in perfect harmony with the civilization of the thirteenth century, a conception which dominates the whole structure of organized society — of religion and art, of political and economic institutions.

That Dr. La Piana does not accept this common synthesis is his privilege. But his thesis that the view finds no acceptance, and that as an historical construction it falls to the ground, is surely another matter. More sustained investigation of the philosophy of the thirteenth century reveals an increasing variety and diversity in its content, but the very masters who have done most to bring out this fact into full relief have remained faithful to the theory of a common synthesis. It is Clemens Baeumker who speaks of a *Gemeingut der Scholastik*. In one of the last studies consecrated to Alfred of Sareshel, this author says:

³ *L'art religieuse au 13^e siècle: Étude sur l'iconographie du moyen âge et sur ses sources d'inspiration*, Paris, 1910.

It may be said with certainty that not only the whole cultural framework of the middle ages, but also the products of their philosophical speculations exhibit a far reaching homogeneity.⁴

And in the opening pages of a history published in 1921 by Dr. Grabmann, I read the following:

We may, with Cl. Baeumker, regard the unity of this formal and material content as *Gemeingut der Scholastik*, or with de Wulf we may designate it *la synthèse scolastique*.⁵

This is not the place to demonstrate why this common synthesis is not an "artificial product," nor how the parts of this synthetic unity are organically interwoven. I have had but one object in view in writing this note: to point out that the consensus of opinion of specialists engaged in the study of mediaeval philosophy is not altogether in agreement with Dr. La Piana, and that my interpretation is not "entirely arbitrary and unhistorical" (p. 251).

⁴ "Auch das ist richtig dass, wie die Geistesgebilde des Mittelalters überhaupt, so auch seine philosophischen Geistesprodukte eine weitgreifende *Gleichförmigkeit* zeigen," etc. 'Die Stellung des Alfred von Sareshel und seine Schrift de motu cordis in der Wissenschaft des beginnenden XIII. Jahrhunderts' (Sitzungsberichte d. kön. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, Abh. 9), München, 1913, p. 5.

⁵ "Wir können mit Cl. Baeumker dieses einheitliche formale und inhaltliche Gepräge als 'Gemeingut der Scholastik', mit M. de Wulf als 'La synthèse scolastique' bezeichnen." Geschichte der Philosophie. III. Die Philosophie des Mittelalters (Sammlung Götschen), Berlin, 1921, p. 27.

THE TOMB OF THE APOSTLES AD CATACUMBAS

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IN the number of this REVIEW for January 1921, Dr. George La Piana discussed, in the light of the most recent discoveries at Rome, the several hypotheses which have been put forward in regard to the ancient tradition connected with the church of San Sebastiano at Rome. He there controverts the view proposed in my *Petrus und Paulus in Rom* (1915) that a translation of the relics of Peter and Paul to the Catacumbae, that is to the site of the later basilica of San Sebastiano, took place on June 29, 258, and defends the opinion, held also by eminent archaeologists in Rome, that what took place ad Catacumbas in the year 258 was only the establishment of a memorial festival in honor of the two apostles. His acute argument skilfully detects the weak points of my position, and at the same time contains so much that is new as to give me a welcome opportunity for a reëxamination of the evidence. A necessary preliminary to this was a journey to Rome and the personal inspection of the excavations, which I was able to make late in April 1922.

It may be taken as accepted that the original text of the Filocalian Calendar is not that found in the corrupt manuscripts of the Chronographer of 354, but is to be arrived at through a combination with the Martyrologium Hieronymianum.¹ The true text should read: *III Kal. Jul. Natale sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli: Petri in Vaticano, Pauli vero in via Ostensi, utriusque in catacumbas. Basso et Tusco cons.* The consular year named is 258 A.D.

La Piana is entirely correct in remarking that nothing here directly attests a translation of the bodies of the apostles; the supposition that in the year 258 a memorial festival of the apostles was established would fully satisfy the wording of the

¹ La Piana, pp. 60 f., and Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom*, pp. 81 f.

text. But when he adds (p. 61): "On the contrary, this origin [a translation] is implicitly excluded by the assumption that the 29th of June is the *dies natalis* of the apostles," he proves too much for the good of his theory. It is generally admitted that in the fourth century the 29th of June was celebrated as the *dies natalis* of the two apostles, but it is also more than probable that this day cannot have been the actual historical day of their martyrdom. The Roman liturgical tradition betrays no knowledge of days of martyrs' deaths before the year 200.² On the other hand the date in question did not arise from a liturgical constructive theory, as appears to be the case with the oriental festival of Peter and Paul on the 28th of December.³ Therefore the 29th of June must have some historical significance, and it is most natural to connect it with the year mentioned in the tradition, and to regard June 29, 258, as the day on which the liturgical festival in honor of the apostles Peter and Paul was initiated — and in fact both initiated and observed for the first time.⁴

So far my learned critic might agree with my argument, for the difference between us here is slight; but he would then ask me, with all the greater emphasis, why I assume a translation of the apostolic relics, which Filocalus does not mention, and against which, as I myself acknowledge, considerable arguments can be urged. My answer is: first, because of the testimony of Damasus; secondly, because of the archaeological facts; thirdly, because of the general principle that in antiquity church festivals were not instituted by an arbitrary decree, but arose out of some tangible liturgical act, which in this case is most easily conceived as a translation.

The verses of Damasus read as follows:

*hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes,
nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris.*

La Piana's statement (p. 65), "It cannot be denied that the

² This I think I have shown; Petrus und Paulus in Rom, pp. 90 ff. La Piana also (p. 65) considers the date June 29 as not historical.

³ Petrus und Paulus in Rom, pp. 92 ff.

⁴ La Piana (p. 90, note 32) characterizes this view as "not improbable," but in so doing he destroys his own argument in the text (p. 61).

verb *habitare* is found in the epigraphic terminology in the meaning *to be buried*," does not cover the ground. I still find my argument⁵ convincing, that the phrases which follow reflect the customary expressions of Damasus, and that therefore the poet intended here by *habitasse* to express the same idea which he habitually expresses in such a connection, namely: 'Here were the martyrs buried.' Parallels are more significant in the case of Damasus than with other poets because he is fond of repeating both ideas and language.

Accordingly, while it is, to be sure, "not impossible," as La Piana proposes, to interpret *habitasse* here "in its primary meaning 'to dwell' of a living person," yet the interpretation is not free from objection, and I cannot accept as "very likely" the theory that Peter "found a refuge while living in Rome" in the villa whose walls have been brought to light beneath the church of San Sebastiano. For if La Piana refuses to admit a translation in the year 258, on the ground that such translations cannot be proved to have taken place in Rome before the latter part of the fifth century, he ought to have still stronger objections to the supposition of a local tradition about an apostle's place of residence which wholly lacks liturgical support, and which (since it must have arisen in the first century) presupposes a curiosity about such matters very strange for that time and with analogies only at distinctly later dates. To my mind such a tradition, even if it were attested for the fourth century, which is not the case, would be quite incredible. La Piana's praiseworthy caution in rejecting (p. 89, note 22a) Wilpert's use of the graffito *domus Petri* in one of the excavated chambers, need not rest for its justification solely on the date in the fifth century assigned to the graffito on palaeographical grounds, for Franchi de' Cavalieri in another connection⁶ has called attention to a pseudo-damasine inscription (No. 82 Ihm) in which the burial chamber of St. Hippolytus is designated as *domus martyris Hippolyti*. That agrees perfectly with the frequent pagan designation of the grave as *domus aeterna*.⁷ More-

⁵ Petrus und Paulus in Rom, pp. 107 f.

⁶ Note agiografiche 5 (1915), p. 123.

⁷ See Dessau, Inscriptiones latinae selectae III. 2, Index, p. 939; Carmina epigraphica, ed. Buecheler, No. 662. 1.

over La Piana has to assume an inaccuracy on the part of Damasus. The latter says *hic habitasse sanctos*, and names Peter and Paul with emphasis, so that both apostles would have to be supposed to have resided ad Catacumbas. This strikes La Piana as legendary, and he explains the legend as having arisen from the later habitual combination of the two apostles as a pair — “a binomial like Castor and Pollux.” So he cuts the statement of Damasus in halves, and supposes Peter to have dwelt ad Catacumbas, while Paul was added later by the legend. That is perhaps not impossible, but certainly not obvious; and clearly this explanation sacrifices the exact interpretation of the text of Damasus, which my view, I hope, preserves. Equally beside the mark is Delehaye’s objection⁸ that Damasus ought to have said:

corpora quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris,

instead of *nomina*, if he intended to refer to the place of burial. *Requiris* here does not mean ‘thou seekest,’ but ‘thou askest.’ Damasus means, ‘Here once Saints lay buried; if thou askest their names, I answer, “Peter and Paul.”’ This is the meaning in Damasus 10, 2 (ed. Ihm): *hic soror est Damasi, nomen si quaeris, Irene*. For *requiris* Ihm compares appropriately *Carmina epigraphica* (ed. Buecheler), No. 748. 28, *nomina sanctarum, lector, si forte requiris*, and such phrases are common enough in the language of metrical epitaphs. For instance *Carm. epig.* 696. 3, *nomen dulce, lector, si forte defunctae requiris*; 1357. 3, *quae tegitur tumulo, si vis cognoscere, lector*; Damasus, *carm.* 34. 1, *quisque vides tumulum, vitam si quaeris opertae*, etc. This very common form is in our case varied to read: ‘If thou askest after the persons (*nomina*) Peter and Paul, know that they were buried here.’ We find *nomen* used in this way in the pseudo-damasine inscription, No. 87, *hic votis paribus tumulum duo nomina servant Chrysanthi Dariae*.

Accordingly our inscription can hardly be understood in any other sense than as I have interpreted it: ‘Here once the two apostles lay buried.’ To what date Damasus assigns the burial,

⁸ H. Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des Martyrs* (1912), p. 308, cited by La Piana, p. 90, note 28.

— whether he believed it to have taken place immediately after their martyrdom under Nero or in the year 258 — cannot be determined from the *prius* of the text; and also that Damasus was correct in what he states is not proved by the mere existence of the inscription, of which indeed the original is no longer extant. La Piana presents impressively the view that the verses which follow are colored by the antagonism which divided Rome and the East in the time of Damasus and came to a climax in 381; but the parallel phrases of poems No. 52 and No. 46 make it seem doubtful whether the words have here any such peculiar significance.

We may now turn to the examination of the archaeological facts. To the full bibliography of the excavations at San Sebastiano given by La Piana I can add but little. The results of the work down to April 1916 are contained in the fundamental publication of Dr. Styger in the *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di archeologia*, ser. II, vol. XIII (1918), with most careful descriptions and abundant figures, plans, and plates. On the later excavations articles have appeared in the *Studi Romani* and in the *Nuovo Bullettino d'archeologia*, and Dr. Styger gives a good summary in the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, vol. XLV, pp. 549–572 (Innsbruck, 1921). Plate I of the present article combines all the previous drawings in a single outline sketch and Plate II gives a vertical section.

The history of the site has been briefly as follows. The locality consists of a cliff of tufa enclosing a semicircular valley which descends steeply to a depth of about 8 meters. In the last quarter of the first century after Christ a row of columbaria was constructed on the flat top of the cliff. At about the same time, or perhaps a little later, three extensive burial chambers (32, 33, 34) were cut in the cliff, on the level of the bottom of the valley. These had façades of masonry and were decorated on the interior with stucco ornaments and various paintings, including pictures of banquets. Inscriptions show that these chambers were used for pagan burials as late as 238 A.D. To the right of these large structures two smaller tombs (35 and 36)

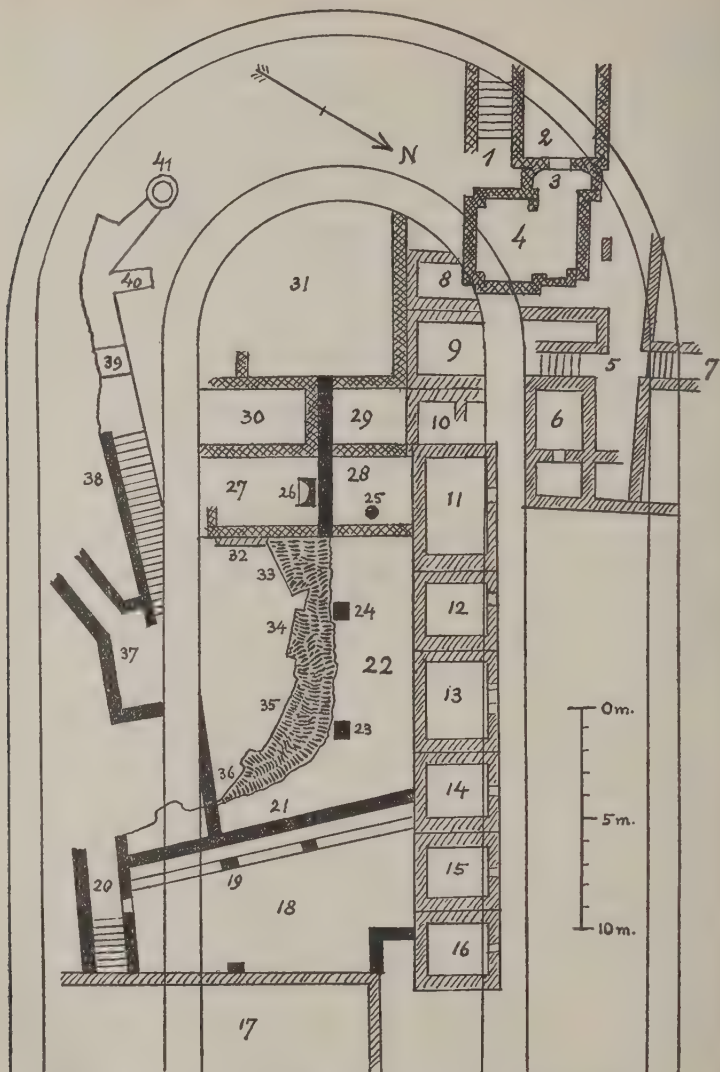


PLATE I. PLAN OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT SAN SEBASTIANO

4, Burial chamber with light-shaft. 6, 8, 10-16, Columbaria. 9, Ustrinum. 18, Trichia. 22, Court. 25, Oil-column. 26, Cathedra. 27-31, Roman villa of the time of Hadrian. 32, 33, 34, Façades of the three large tombs in the valley. 35, 36, Crypto-christian inscriptions. 38, Stairs leading to underground passage and well. 39, Reservoir with stuccoed wall. 41, Well.

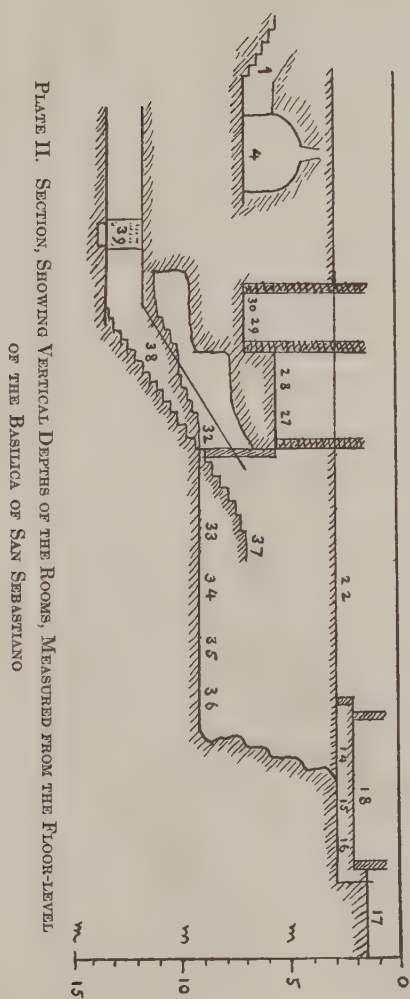


PLATE II. SECTION, SHOWING VERTICAL DEPTHS OF THE ROOMS, MEASURED FROM THE FLOOR-LEVEL
OF THE BASILICA OF SAN SEBASTIANO

were made in the rock. But side by side with the preponderating pagan characteristics of all these tombs are Christian features, which were probably not evident to pagans but revealed their true nature only to the initiate. In one chamber of tomb 33 we find scratched in the stucco of the wall ITXΘΤΣ, that is, the confessional symbol (IXΘΤΣ) with the cross (T). In the rock-wall near tombs 35 and 36 are two grave-stones the wording of which is entirely "neutral," but which by fish and anchor, palm and crown, indicate the Christian profession of the dead. About the time of Hadrian a villa was built above tomb 32, extending back as far as the row of columbaria and with its east wall resting partly on the façade of tomb 32. One of its rooms (29) made necessary the destruction of part of a columbarium. Styger has lately expressed the opinion that these rooms were not the dwelling-rooms of a villa but pagan meeting-places of a sepulchral character.⁹

In the middle of the third century the villa was destroyed; its lower (basement) rooms and the valley were filled with earth; and the long rear wall of the columbaria (11-16), as well as the wall of a building (17) which has not yet been fully examined, were used to form the back of a colonnade (18) opening toward the south-west, and of an enclosed court (22) roofed over on the north side. This court extended also over the demolished walls of the villa. At that time, apparently, the east wall of room 27 was reërected with fragments of tufa and bricks,¹⁰ and a cross-wall carried from east to west across the space 27-28. A cathedra (26) and an oil-column (25) testify to the ritual use of the new rooms. On the east wall of the so-called *triclia* (18) are the numerous graffiti invoking Peter and Paul and mentioning *refrigeria*. La Piana prints the texts of these (pp. 78 f.), and Styger gives excellent photographs of all of them.¹¹ This whole reconstruction, as is admitted on all hands, was evidently undertaken by Christians for the purpose of celebrating the commemoration of the apostles, and no doubt, as the archaeological indications suggest, in the year 258 of which the Filo-

⁹ Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie XLV, p. 567.

¹⁰ Styger, Dissert. Pont. Acc., p. 93.

¹¹ Dissert. Pont. Acc., plates I-XXV.

alian Calendar speaks. The trichia was specially intended, like the well-known portico of the Catacomb of Domitilla, for the ritual banquets, a custom to which we find many literary allusions.¹²

This structure, however, did not long stand, for the *basilica apostolorum*, as San Sebastiano was originally called, was built before the middle of the next century, and in its turn covered up all the remains of this earlier building. The terminus ante quem for the erection of the church is fixed by the grave-stone of a child, let into the level surface of the pavement and found in situ.¹³ The child died *VIII Kal. Octob[re]s Costantio Augusto* [. . . *et J*] *uliano* [*Caes. cons.*], that is, on the 24th of September, 356 or 357 (according as we supply *SII* = 8 or *III* = 9). The graffiti in the trichia suit best the second half of the third century, by reason both of their matter and of the forms of the scratched letters; the Constantinian monogram or Christus ✕ does not occur.

These discoveries rejoiced the heart of the archaeologists, who were looking for the tomb of the apostles; but as the excavations brought one surprise after another, their disappointment must have been equally great. Not a trace of the tomb of an apostle has so far been found. The columbaria can yield nothing, even where they were altered to admit coffins. The burial-chambers in the valley were closed by ruins. The other rooms, such as the "*Platonia*" and the "*domus Petri*"¹⁴ or the cubiculum with a light-shaft (4 of our plan), are too far from the centre of interest, and give no evidence of the burial of an apostle. An ingenious suggestion has been made by O. Marucchi¹⁵ with regard to a flight of steps (38) on the south side of the court, which lead to a depth of four metres below the level of the bottom of the valley into a horizontal passage leading to an old well (41). At the point marked 39 on the Plan the wall of the passage is entirely covered with stucco,

¹² *Bullettino d'archeologia cristiana*, 1865, p. 96; Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne* I, 809 ff.

¹³ Figured in Styger, *Diss. pont. acc.*, p. 27.

¹⁴ See La Piana, p. 70, plan I, A and N.

¹⁵ *Nuovo bullettino* 26 (1920), pp. 12 ff.

on which are graffiti with invocations of the apostles. At this point, Marucchi thinks, the passage was once closed by a cross-wall, and in the time of Nero the bodies of the apostles were temporarily concealed here. But this cross-wall is entirely hypothetical, and another explanation of the strange piece of plastering is more natural. A branch of the spring, namely, opens into the passage at this point and still fills with water the trough-shaped hollow floor. This was the reservoir from which the water needed for the triclia above was fetched. The wall about it was given the distinction of a coat of stucco, and this was covered with graffiti by Christians who came down to draw water. These inscriptions contain the Constantinian monogram, and are therefore later than the greater part of those in the triclia. It may be added that the presence of the branch of a spring in the chamber makes it highly unlikely that bodies were hidden there.

From these facts many scholars, among them La Piana, have concluded that there never was any apostles' grave here, and consequently no translation. Their conclusion does not seem to me justified. Styger's first report led me to surmise that the burial place of the apostles was to be sought in room 17.¹⁶ The idea met at first with strong opposition, but competent judges in Rome have recently declared it quite probable. At any rate, this structure appeared on Styger's first investigation¹⁷ to be a rebuilt sepulchral monument originally of the first or second century, and it still awaits thorough excavation and study. Let us then reserve our judgment, for nothing but a complete clearing of the whole area can fully account for the architectural plan of San Sebastiano, in particular for the lack of orientation by points of the compass and for the position of the apse over the remains of the villa.

Nevertheless La Piana thinks that at any rate in 258 no translation took place, because, first, there was no reasonable occasion for it, and secondly, because such translations were

¹⁶ *Petrus und Paulus in Rom*, pp. 120, 182. I spoke only of the rooms, not of the sarcophagi; La Piana (p. 74) misunderstood the bearing of the passage. The coffin of "Fabianus" with its mediaeval inscription was merely a guide for the tradition of a later age.

¹⁷ *Diss. pont. acc.*, p. 49.

not then customary. He points out (p. 67), following Delehayé, that by Roman law the violation of graves was liable to a heavy penalty and that for every translation a special permit would have been required. That is true, but it proves nothing, for all Christian worship was subject to heavy penalties, indeed to the death penalty, and more than usually so in the year 258. The unquestionable erection of a place of worship ad Catacumbas and the undoubted observance there of religious ceremonies were quite as much prohibited and dangerous as the removal of revered relics for ritual purposes.¹⁸ A few weeks later, on the 6th of August, 258, Bishop Sixtus found this out at the cost of his life. We are justified in assuming that the Christians of Rome in the third century had enough courage, when the interests of the church required, to undertake translations without fear of the Roman police. A shrewd and, if necessary, open-handed diplomacy would have been able to smooth the way to the attainment of their desires.

But what would have been the motive for the removal? La Piana is quite right in saying (p. 67), "There is no example in Rome of the tombs of the martyrs ever being molested by the government even in times of fierce persecutions. The Christians therefore had nothing to fear for the tombs of the Apostles." It was not for fear that the graves would be violated by public officials that the relics were transferred ad Catacumbas. A more probable reason can be suggested.

In the first half of the third century the ritual veneration of martyrs developed in the Christian church at Rome, and the impossibility of such worship at the graves of the chief apostles and first martyrs of the church must soon have been painfully felt. No trace has been found of a Christian cemetery in the neighborhood of the grave either of Peter or of Paul. The entire surroundings of both graves are purely pagan, and near Peter's grave pagans were buried as late as in the second half of the third century. The funeral chapel of Anacletus had its origin in the legendary fancies of the sixth century.¹⁹ The

¹⁸ Cf. *Acta Cypriani* i, 8, *praeceperunt etiam ne in aliquibus locis conciliabula fiant nec coemeteria ingrediantur.*

¹⁹ For the proofs see *Petrus und Paulus in Rom*, p. 152.

reports of all the excavations testify that before the time of Constantine private worship was perhaps possible at the graves of both apostles, but never any liturgical church worship. That would seem to me a sufficient reason why, soon after the middle of the third century, a suitable place of worship should have been built, necessarily withdrawn from the surveillance of the police, to which the relics were transferred. And even if it were true that such translations were not customary in Rome at that date or for a long time afterward, that would not be a valid objection to this view, for no other martyr can be compared in importance with Peter and Paul, and in no other case was the translation for purposes of religious veneration so imperative a necessity.

But that no translations took place in the earlier years is by no means so certain. De Rossi's theory of a translation of the bodies of Sts. Parthenius and Calocerus rests chiefly on the fact that both the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* and a graffito in their tomb mention a second day of commemoration, the 11th of February, in addition to their regular holy-day of May 19. What event took place on February 11, if not a translation? The case is the same with regard to St. Bassilla, and only topographical considerations create difficulty; here also two dates of commemoration are recorded, September 22 and June 11. The strong probability then remains that in the other two cases (beside that of the year 258) where Filocalus mentions years, he refers to translations, namely that of Sts. Parthenius and Calocerus on February 11, 304, and that of St. Bassilla on June 11, 304. To Franchi de' Cavalieri's objection ²⁰ that under the merciless persecution of Diocletian in the year 304 the Christians had other things to think about than translations of martyrs, it may be answered that even the bloodiest year of persecution included many weeks and even months of peaceful freedom from disturbance, and that we do not know the particular circumstances of time and place which were finally controlling.

La Piana, however, brings forward another argument which is calculated to make much impress on the reader's mind. "If,"

²⁰ Note agiografiche V, pp. 123 f.

he says, "the translation of the bodies to their original resting places had taken place after Constantine, such a great event would certainly have left some trace in the records of the time" (p. 82). From this he draws the conclusion that even if there was a translation ad Catacumbas, — whether in 64 or in 258 makes no difference, — the bodies in any case "remained ad Catacumbas for a very brief time — one or two years. It has to be admitted therefore that the *refrigeria* were held ad Catacumbas *absente cadavere*," and so as mere commemorative meals in honor of the apostles, contrary to the usual meaning of the term.

Let us examine this reasoning in detail. In the first place, it is hazardous to assert that an event of this kind must necessarily have left some trace in the tradition, and from the lack of such a trace to infer that there was no such event. For instance, the rebuilding of the church of St. Paul is attested, as it happens, for the years 384–390, by certain documents preserved wholly by accident;²¹ we have even by a lucky chance the dedicatory column with the inscription of Pope Siricius. But the *Liber pontificalis*, which should have made official record of such things, says nothing at all about it. Indeed, if we should draw up a list of events of interest for church history which certainly took place and yet of which we have no information, it would be a long one.

But in the case before us the tradition is by no means so devoid of traces of the translation as La Piana avers. The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* records for the 12th of December an *inventio corporis sancti Pauli apostoli*; and for the 25th of January a *translatio Pauli apostoli* which later, under New Testament influence, became the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul. One could hardly in reason expect more from the tradition than that; these are the dates of the identification of the body of St. Paul in the burial-chamber ad Catacumbas, and of the transfer to the rebuilt church of St. Paul.²² But we have no corresponding dates recorded for St. Peter! Well, if the great church of St. Peter was finished later than the (oldest)

²¹ On these see *Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft* XXI (1922), p. 148.

²² Cf. *Petrus und Paulus in Rom*, p. 164, note 2.

small church of St. Paul (and it surely was), that is not surprising. A special *inventio corporis sancti Petri* doubtless did not take place after the body of Paul had been identified and removed. But a translation must have taken place; why then is its date not preserved?

The dedication of St. Peter's is believed (since what date I cannot here show) to have taken place on November 18; and the great new church of St. Paul, consecrated in 390, observes as its own the same dedication-day. The date of St. Paul's was perhaps influenced by that of St. Peter's, since it might have been desired to celebrate both dedications on the same day, because of the common commemoration of the two apostles on June 29. That would have been a natural consequence of the combination of the two apostles into a "binomial," on which La Piana has laid so much stress (p. 65). Accordingly, so far as I can see, nothing stands in the way of assigning to November 18 the dedication of the Constantinian church of St. Peter, which meant also the translation of the body of St. Peter to the new church. In that case we could understand why no special date is recorded for the translation of St. Peter. But the point must again be emphasized that even without any such trace in tradition, the idea of a translation would be historically justified, provided other grounds for it exist, and I think I have been able to produce such.

The graffiti, too, testify to the strong probability that when they were written the apostles actually lay buried near the triclia. Both the acclamations, with prayer for the apostles' intercession, and the mention of the *refrigeria* point to the bodily presence of the saints addressed. La Piana (pp. 79 ff.) tries to overthrow this argument by affirming that the formula, *Petro et Paulo Tomius Coelius refrigerium feci*, must be understood as meaning, 'In honor of Peter and Paul, I, Tomius Coelius, celebrated a refrigerium,' not 'as an offering for the eternal rest of Peter and Paul' (p. 83). He infers from this that the word *refrigerium* "has lost its original meaning and its connection with a funeral rite which was the essential part of that meaning," and "that the word *refrigerium* had come in the popular use to signify merely a banquet, having a loose religious

connection and celebrated in a place dedicated to the memory of a martyr." Continuing, he refers to Augustine, epist. 29, 10, where the writer deplores the *quotidianae vinolentiae exempla* reported from Rome *de basilica beati apostoli Petri*, which no prohibitions succeed in preventing, *quod remotus sit locus ab episcopi conversatione*. Such prohibitions, says La Piana, would have primarily affected the poorer people, who would then perhaps have withdrawn their *refrigeria* to the secluded spot *ad Catacumbas*. Augustine's letter is from the year 392; the prohibitions of which he speaks "must have been felt strongly at least from the middle of the century. Now, according to Dr. Styger, explorer of the trichia, the graffiti might have been written during the second half of the century, and not very long before the destruction of the trichia" (p. 85). La Piana has here fallen into a pardonable error. The prohibitions of which Augustine speaks may, it is true, go back to 350 — we know nothing further about them — but the trichia was built about 250, and the graffiti, according to Styger's correct opinion,²³ were written during the second half of the *third* century, that is, from half-a-century to a century earlier. Moreover, since the basilica of San Sebastiano was built before 356, not much time remains for the existence of the trichia in the fourth century. And not only is it a questionable procedure to assume without compelling reasons that the word *refrigerium* has here another sense than the funereal, but a positive refutation is at hand in the inscription²⁴ *at Paulo et Pet[ro] refri[geravi]*. That can only be translated: 'in the presence of Peter and Paul I have celebrated a refrigerium,' and must be understood by every unprejudiced reader to mean 'at the grave of Peter and Paul.' That some one might have written *Petro et Paulo refrigerium feci*, which La Piana with perfect propriety

²³ Styger, Diss. pont. acc., p. 88: "Possono essere assegnate alla seconda metà del III secolo. Ciò è fuori di ogni dubbio, perchè mancano affatto in esse i caratteri della decadenza, che già si rivelano nel IV secolo avanzato." He expresses the same opinion in his earlier publications.

²⁴ Styger, Diss. pont. acc., plate II, on the right, below. Styger, p. 61, reads *Paulu[m]*, but the *o* is clearly recognizable. The sense is the same with either reading; *at* is equivalent to *ad*, and, as often, is construed with an ablative; cf. Diehl, *Vulgärlateinische Inschriften* (Kleine Texte 62), Nos. 1293 ff.

renders 'in honor of Peter and Paul,' is by no means inconsistent with my contention. It is well known that martyrs were chiefly venerated at their graves; but that *refrigeria* were celebrated in their honor anywhere else than at or very near their graves has never been proved or even made probable.

I agree with my critic in his conclusion that we are "still far from having the positive proof of the assumed translation." But I still believe that by the recent excavations ad Catacumbas the probability of the view which I have urged has been considerably increased, and I hope that the future work of the spade will confirm the results reached by study of the written documents.

THREE PAPERS ON THE TEXT OF ACTS

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I. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TORN LEAF OF CODEX BEZAE¹

FOLIO 504 of Codex Bezae, containing part of Acts, chap. 21, has suffered mutilation by an irregular tear, or cut, so that on the Latin side a part of verse 7, the whole of verses 8 and 9, and a part of verse 10 are now lacking; correspondingly, on the Greek side a part of verse 16, the whole of verse 17, and a part of verse 18 have been destroyed. Fortunately, however, the manuscript was examined at dates when the mutilation was less extensive than at present, and from the reports still preserved the contents of the lost portion of the Greek can be recovered with almost complete certainty. In the Latin lacuna the results are less satisfactory. In the "Introduction" to Scrivener's edition of the codex, pp. x-xiii, the editor has given a full description of the older collations and copies, and in his "Adnotationes Editoris," pp. 446 f., he has added much information drawn from these statements about the verses in question.

The codex was presented by Beza to the University of Cambridge in 1581, and arrived early in 1582. The old accounts of it which we need to consider are the following:

1. A copy of the Greek text, made in March 1583 for Archbishop Whitgift, now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, with the pressmark B. x. 3. Most of the relevant portion is printed by Scrivener, p. 446. The extract printed below includes more than he gives, and is taken from a photo-

¹ For kind assistance in securing the two photographs which have made this reconstruction possible I am indebted to the friendliness of Reverend A. V. Valentine Richards of Christ's College, Cambridge.

graph which I owe to the courtesy of the authorities of the Library of Trinity College. It amply illustrates Scrivener's statement of the untrustworthiness of the copyist's work, but at one or two points something may be learned from it.

- [15] Μετὰ δὲ τινὰς ἡμέρας ἀποταξάμενοι ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς ἱερου-
 [16] σαλήμ· Συνῆλθον δὲ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ἀπὸ κεσαραίας σὺν
 [17] ἡμῖν· οὗτοι δὲ ἤγαγον ἡμᾶς παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν γενομένων
 [18] εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα, ἀσμένως ἐδέξαντο ἡμᾶς οἱ ἀδελφοί. τῇ δὲ
 ἐπιούσῃ εἰσῆει ὁ παῦλος σὺν ἡμῖν πρὸς Ἰάκωβον πάντες δὲ
 παρεγένοντο οἱ πρεσβύτεροι συνηγμένοι·

2. A collation of both the Greek and the Latin pages of Codex Bezae, made for that admirable scholar and man, Archbishop Ussher, at some time before 1650, and now in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.² This may be the collation made by Patrick Young, to which Wetstein refers (*Novum Testamentum*, vol. I, *Prolegomena*, p. 30). It was used in Walton's *Polyglot*, 1657 (tom. VI, num. XVI), but incompletely and not quite exactly, so that Scrivener, who knew the collation only through Walton's excerpts, has expressed himself unjustly with regard to it (p. xi), and, indeed, seems himself to confess as much in his footnote on the same page. The collation was, so far as I can judge, trustworthy and complete, though not always indicating the distinction between the original hand and a corrector.

Below are given all the statements of this collation relating to the two lacunae. They are drawn from a photograph for which I am indebted to the courtesy of the authorities of the Library of Emmanuel College. B or Bg means the Greek, Bl the Latin, of Codex Bezae. Ussher also gives, with the symbol D (i. e. *Dublinensis*), the readings of the Codex Montfortianus (Gregory, 34^{ao}, now 61), but I have not reproduced these here.

² This appears not to be the manuscript of "Variae Lectiones of the New Testament," the loss of which in 1645 or 1646 is described by Dr. Parr (*C. R. Elrington, Life of James Ussher* [Ussher's Works, vol. I], 1847, pp. 244 f.), but rather that referred to in Ussher's letter to Reverend Dr. Hammond, January 14, 1650 (Works, vol. XVI, p. 174), which, so far as he there states, may not yet have been in existence in 1646.

- 8 οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον] deest in Bl.
τέσσα: παρθ.] quatuor virgines. Bl
- 15 ανεβαιν:] αναβαιν: B.
Ιερουσ:] Ιεροσόλυμα. B.
- [16] συνηλθ: δὲ καὶ τῶν μαθ:] deest in B, sed additur in marg:
recentiori caractere.
ἄγοντες] οὗτοι δὲ ἡγαγον ἡμᾶς. B.
ξενισθῶμεν] καὶ παραγενόμενοι εἰς τινὰ κώμην ἐγενόμεθα παρὰ
additur in B.
- Αρχαίω μαθ:] μαθ: ἀρχαίω. B.
- 17 γενομένων δὲ ἡμῶν εἰς Ιεροσ.] inde exeuntes venimus
Ierosol: Bl. ut videtur fuisse, κακείθεν ἐξερχόμενοι
ἦλθομεν εἰς Ιεροσολ: in Bg.
ἀσμένως ἐδέξ:] ὑπεδέξαντο δὲ ἡμᾶς ἄσμ: B
susceperunt autem nos cum laetitia. Bl.
- 18 εἰσήει.] introibit. Bl. . . . hic graecus contextus ob
paginam laceram de[e]st.
πρὸς Ιακ:] ad Jacobum. Bl.

3. Mill's New Testament (Oxford, 1707, pp. 384 f., also Appendix, p. 43) gives information about Codex Bezae for both the Greek and the Latin of the missing passages.

4. A transcript of Codex Bezae was made by J. J. Wetstein in 1716, and used in his New Testament (Amsterdam, 1751-52; see vol. I, Prolegomena, p. 30).

5. A collation by John Dickinson, made about 1732 or 1733 and in recent times in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge, was used by Scrivener, who praises it highly. It was contained in a volume lettered "MS. Sermons," and bearing the now obsolete press-mark O. θ. 2, but at present cannot be found, although the authorities of the Library kindly made a search for it for me. Scrivener's statements drawn from it seem, however, to be substantially complete.

From these sources, and from the evidence of the Latin page parallel to the Greek mutilation, the text of the Greek can be reconstructed completely, as is shown below; that of the Latin, for which we do not have any corresponding Greek, less perfectly. It is plain that the leaf suffered at least three succes-

sive tears, or cuts, one before 1650 (Ussher), a second before 1707 (Mill), and the third after 1732 or 1733 (Dickinson) and before 1793 (Kipling). There is no knowing whether the first tear had been made before the codex arrived in Cambridge.

On the Latin side the present injury affects line 23 of the page and has destroyed lines 24-33; in the Greek it has damaged lines 23 and 24, and destroyed lines 25-33. The course of the several tears was probably straighter than can be indicated in the diagram.

Acts 21, 7-10	Acts 21, 16-18
23 et mansimus diem unum apud eos	αναβαινομεν εις ιεροσολυμα
24 sequenti cum exissemus	εκ κεσαραιας συν ημειν
25 venimus caesaream	ουτοι δε ηγαγον ημας
26 et cum introissemus	προς ους ξενισθωμεν
27 in domum philippi	και παραγενομενοι εις τινα κωμην
28 evangelistae	εγενομεθα παρα νασωνι τινι κυπριω
29 qui erat de VII mansimus ad eum	μαθητη αρχαιω κακειθεν εξερχομενοι
30 cui erant filiae IIII virgines	ηλθομεν εις ιεροσολυμα
31 profetantes et mansimus apud eam	υπεδεξαντο δε ημας ασμενως οι αδελφοι
32	τη δε επιουση εισηει ο παυλος
33	συν ημιν προς ιακωβον

For the arrangement of the Greek lines the Latin parallel on the succeeding leaf is a trustworthy guide. The line of the first tear is shown by the statement of Ussher's collation, although it is not certain whether it cut off the word *εισηει* or not. The line of the second tear we learn from Mill and Dickinson,³ as quoted below. To the third tear, or cut, is due the present state of the codex.

The statements of Mill and Dickinson used for determining the tears are as follows:

Mill's New Testament, on verse 16:

μαθητη] Μαθητῇ Κἀκεῖθεν (reliquum paginae laceratur) Cant. Laceris autem Graecis, Κἀκεῖθεν . . . ἦλθομεν εἰς Ἱεροσ . . . υπεδεξαντο . . . sic respondent Latina: Et inde exeuntes [then follow verses 17 and 18 in the text of d]

³ It is possible that the little triangle containing ^{μην} τινι κυπριω perished between the date of Mill and that of Dickinson.

Dickinson, as quoted by Scrivener on verse 16:

μ [i.e. of *μνασωνι*] supra: alia verba lacerantur: κω (nam *μην* non apparet, nec *τινι κυπριω*)

Dickinson, on verse 18:

post *υπεδεξαντο* in laceratâ Pag. habetur *τη δε*

The text of nearly the whole Greek lacuna is furnished by Ussher's collation as printed above. With its statements agree almost completely the notes of Mill and Wetstein, both of whom were perhaps in part dependent on Ussher through the medium of Walton's Polyglot. In no case does any reading of Mill or Wetstein throw substantial doubt on that of Ussher.

On the following points Ussher fails us, but the other evidence is clear. In every case but one (vs. 16, *προς ους*) we have the support of d.

Vs. 16. *κεσαραιας* Whitgift, Wetstein ("a *prima manu*"), Dickinson ("a *secund. eras.*").

συν ημειν Whitgift.

προς ους ξενισθωμεν Mill (Appendix, p. 43), Wetstein. (Dickinson says, "*manus recentior ω*," and Wetstein implies the same; note that d reads *apud quem*.)

νασωνι Mill, Wetstein, Dickinson.

τινι κυπριω. For these words we have only the evidence of Ussher's silence and of d, but the reading is certain.

Vs. 17. *οι αδελφοι* Ussher *e silentio*, d.

Vs. 18. *τη δε* Dickinson.

επιουση εισηει Ussher *e silentio*, d.

ο παυλος συν ημιν προς ιακωβον. For restoring this, the most ancient part of the lacuna, we are dependent on d alone.

For the Latin lacuna in verses 7-10 Ussher gives little aid, and we are mainly dependent on Dickinson's readings, as given by Scrivener:

Sequenti cum exissemus venimus caesaream et cum introissemus in domum Philippi [*hic mutilatur Pag.*] . . . ngelistae . . . de septem mansimus ad eum . . . filiae IIII virgines . . . eam [*Desiderantur caetera horum trium versuum*].

Several of these Latin readings are confirmed by Mill and Wetstein. For *venimus*, vs. 8, Mill gives *ηλθομεν*, Wetstein *εισηλθομεν*. Since we know the course of the tearings, this text of Dickinson's can easily be arranged in lines, and a few additions made by obvious conjecture, as has been done in the diagram above.

It may be added that in a number of other passages the text of Codex Bezae is wholly or partly obliterated, or hard to read. An examination of Ussher's collation, and (if the book containing it can be found at Jesus College) of that of Dickinson, might yield valuable information at such points, and may be commended to the students of the New Testament text who have direct access to the documents. Is it not possible that modern methods of palimpsest-photography would bring out erased words and letters? The erased line in the story of Paul before Gallio (Acts 18, 17) is a case of peculiar interest.

II. "AND WHEN THE DAY OF PENTECOST WAS FULLY COME" (ACTS 2, 1)

The words of Acts 2, 1, *καὶ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς*, are interpreted variously in the commentaries and in English translations, and with a lack of sureness of touch that shows further philological study to be desirable. Even the elaborate discussion by Zahn in his Commentary is not free from misunderstandings which may seriously mislead the student. The passage is important both for the Book of Acts and historically; the uncertainty as to its meaning has even led some to the conclusion that the events described in the chapter did not take place on the Day of Pentecost at all. In the present discussion the opinions and conclusions of many commentators are often deliberately traversed, but it has seemed unprofitable to try to explain wherein these scholars are wrong, or to attempt a classification of their views.

The exegetical problem involves several distinct points:

(a) *Verbs of 'filling' in temporal expressions.* Expressions like Jer. 25, 12 *καὶ ἐν τῷ πληρωθῆναι ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη*; Lev. 12, 4 *ἕως ἂν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ ἡμέραι καθάρσεως αὐτῆς*; Gen. 25, 24 *καὶ*

ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτήν; Lk. 1, 57 τῇ δὲ Ἐλεισάβητ ἐπλήσθη ὁ χρόνος τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτήν, represent an idiom common in Hebrew and Aramaic. It does not appear that the Greek language developed a parallel expression for 'completing a period of time,' although certain approaches to it illustrate the fact that the mode of statement would not be unnatural in any tongue; cf. Tebtunis Papyri 374, 10 ἡς ὁ χρόνος τῆς μισθώσεως ἐπληρόθη; see also Greek Papyri in the British Museum, vol. III, p. 136, 10. The frequent use of similar expressions (employing a considerable range of synonymous verbs) in the LXX and New Testament is plainly a Semitism. In the New Testament the phrases occur only in the Gospels and Acts.

(b) *Tenses used.* The verbs used in these expressions mean 'to fill,' 'to complete.' In most cases they are found in the aorist, perfect, or future of the passive, where either the tense or the construction shows that the verb means 'be filled' in the sense of 'be full,' 'be complete.' But in πληρώω, πίμπλημι, ἐμπίμπλημι, ἀναπίμπλημι we find that also the present and imperfect passive are sometimes, though not always, used with this meaning of 'be full,' not merely 'be in process of being filled.' The lexicons (especially Stephanus, Thesaurus, s. vv.) give a great number of examples of this use, and it is clearly stated by Liddell and Scott. Thus Xenophon, *Memorab.* i. 4, 6 τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀκοὴν δέχεσθαι μὲν πάσας φωνάς, ἐμπίπλασθαι δὲ μήποτε; Plato, *Repub.* viii. 550 D ταμείον . . . χρυσίου πληρούμενον; Philostratus, *Vita Apollon.* v. 20 τὸ δ' αὐτοὺς σιτεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ μηδ' ἐμπίπλασθαι τούτου; Herodot. i. 212 ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ τῷ περ αὐτοὶ ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε; Josephus, *B. J.* i. 13, 3 (253) τά τε περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πάντα καὶ ἡ πόλις ὅλη πλήθους τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἀναπίμπλαται τὸ πλεονόητων. Many other examples in which the various verbs occur could be adduced. In some cases, although the sense is perfectly clear, it is difficult to assign the verb to one or the other class of meanings; and that fact itself shows that a development of this meaning for the present and imperfect passive is almost inevitable in this group of verbs.

Of this use of the present and imperfect passive there are a number of cases in the LXX, including phrases relating to time, such as are described under (a), as well as others of dif-

ferent purport. Thus Dan. 8, 23 πληρουμένων τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν; Jer. 36 (29), 10 ὅταν μέλλῃ πληροῦσθαι Βαβυλῶνι ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη; Esther 2, 15 ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀναπληροῦσθαι τὸν χρόνον Ἑσθήρ; Sirach 14, 9 πλεονέκτου ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ ἐμπίπλῃται μερίδι; Job 19, 22 ἀπὸ δὲ σαρκῶν μου οὐκ ἐμπίπλῃσθε; Prov. 24, 51 (30, 16) γῇ οὐκ ἐμπιπλάμενη ὕδατος; Habak. 2, 5 καὶ οὗτος ὡς θάνατος οὐκ ἐμπιπλάμενος; 3 Macc. 4, 3 τίνες ἀγνῖαι κοπετοῦ καὶ γῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐνεπιπλῶντο.

In the New Testament the following instances seem clearly to have this same meaning: Acts 7, 23 ὡς δὲ ἐπληροῦτο αὐτῷ τεσσαρεκονταετῆς χρόνος; Acts 9, 23 ὡς δὲ ἐπληροῦντο ἡμέραι ἱκαναί; Acts 21, 27 ὡς δὲ ἐμελλον αἱ ἐπτὰ ἡμέραι συντελεῖσθαι. In Acts 13, 25 ὡς δὲ ἐπλήρου Ἰωάννης τὸν δρόμον, this sense, 'had finished' (shown by the examples given above to be perfectly idiomatic), yields a more forcible meaning for the passage, although the sense 'was accomplishing,' if weak, is yet not impossible. This is a case of the present active, but is of such a nature as fairly to be associated with the passive tenses here under discussion.

This idiom seems always to denote the 'completion of a period,' never the 'arrival of a moment, or date.' For this latter sense other verbs (e.g. ἦκειν, γενέσθαι) were available, and no Semitic idiom existed to cause πληρόω, etc. to acquire such a meaning.

(c) *The subject of the verb.* The subject of the passive verb in these phrases referring to time is regularly a plural (ἡμέραι being notably frequent), or else a singular (e.g. χρόνος) denoting a continuing period of time. In the LXX no case appears where the subject is a date, or a word denoting a moment of time. Lev. 8, 33 ἕως ἡμέρα πληρωθῇ τελειώσεως ὑμῶν, sometimes adduced, would stand alone as an exception to this statement, if in fact it had this meaning. But it does not have it, for the context does not admit of the idea of a 'day of consecration' (singular), which could be thought of as 'arriving.' The only possible interpretation of the Greek sentence is to force ἡμέρα into the sense of 'period,' including the whole seven days. This may have been the translator's idea; and the actual cause of his unusual Greek is easily discovered. The Hebrew reads, 'until the day of the completion of the days of

your consecration.' The Greek translator has rendered, 'until the day be completed of your consecration,' an inaccurate abridgment, attaching itself to the singular, 'day,' which in Hebrew does not govern the genitive 'of your consecration.' A similar, but accurate, abridgment is the rendering of the King James version, "until the days of your consecration be at an end."

In the New Testament the two instances, Mk. 1, 15 *πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς* and Jn. 7, 8, are not exceptions, in view of the regular use of *καιρὸς* to mean a "limited portion of time."

The noun denoting time used as subject in these expressions is commonly made definite by a modifying adjective (e.g. Jer. 25, 12), or by a genitive (e.g. Lev. 12, 4), or by an exegetical phrase. This last is in Hebrew uniformly *ל* with the infinitive, and is naturally rendered in Greek by *τοῦ* and the infinitive. Accordingly the genitive of the infinitive here is not to be taken either in Old Testament (e.g. Gen. 25, 24) or in New Testament (e.g. Lk. 1, 57) as governed by the noun of time (in the cases cited, *ἡμέραι*), but is a true appended, exegetical clause. This is well illustrated by Jer. 32, 20 (Heb. 25, 34), where *ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ὑμῶν εἰς σφαγὴν* (*הַיּוֹם*) correctly translates the Hebrew, while the King James version, "the days of your slaughter . . . are accomplished" does not do justice to the grammatical relation of the words (but see A. V. mg.).

Where a genitive is attached to the noun, it is always a proper characteristic of the period completed; it never denotes an event or result external to the period itself which merely closes the period, nor does it indicate the condition or situation following the period. This is the case even in Lev. 12, 4; 6 *αἱ ἡμέραι καθάρσεως αὐτῆς*, and so is to be understood Lk. 2, 22 *αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῶν*, which is clearly dependent on Lev. 12. The purifying efficiency here referred to was a property of the days themselves; they were the days in which the purification took place, not days of waiting for a later purification. The meaning in Lev. 8, 33 (Hebrew) is entirely the same.

(d) Lk. 9, 51 *ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ* is often taken as if it afforded the key to the meaning of these expressions and especially of Acts 2, 1.

In fact, however, Lk. 9, 51 is itself too obscure to serve as a basis for any inference of this kind. If, as seems natural, ἀναλήψεως means 'ascension,' 'the days of his ascension' is a strange mode of designating the period of Jesus' life either before or after his final departure from Galilee. Moreover, especially in the light of the other parallel phrases (see above under [c]), it is hard to say what 'the days of his ascension' could mean at all. The whole verse is compact with Semitisms in every part, and cannot with security be treated as if originally composed in intelligible Greek. If the usual interpretation, 'when the days which were to culminate in his ascension were drawing nigh,' be accepted, it is because the interpreter thinks that is what the author ought to have said at this point, not because this meaning is given by the words themselves in the light of other usage. Particularly is it to be remarked that from the unusual meaning thus forced upon συμπληροῦσθαι no inference can properly be drawn as to the sense of that verb in Acts 2, 1 or elsewhere.

A good illustration of the necessity of this warning may be drawn from Lam. 4, 19 (Heb. 18):

ἤγγικεν ὁ καιρὸς ἡμῶν,
ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ἡμῶν,
πᾶρεστιν ὁ καιρὸς ἡμῶν.

'Our time is near' and 'our days are accomplished' are evidently applied here to the same situation, but nevertheless it does not at all follow that if a writer had occasion to refer to the approaching time, in express distinction from the accomplished time, he would be at liberty to use at will any one of the three expressions. Together, the expressions can be used without danger of misunderstanding, for they explain one another; but when used separately they are not interchangeable. So, even if in Lk. 9, 51 συμπληροῦσθαι were held to be used (inexactly) to mean 'draw near,' that meaning could not be carried over to interpret other passages where the context does not suggest it, and where it can hardly be supposed that any contemporary reader could have recognized such a sense.

We come now to the application of all this to Acts 2, 1.

The words ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι mean 'on the completion of' the period of time named, and need cause no difficulty. The problem arises from the character of the phrase constituting the subject, τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς (cf. Acts 20, 16) or (perp gig vg pesh) τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς πεντηκοστῆς.

Both forms lack full parallel in writings of the Jews, or of Christians of this early period. The Feast of Weeks seems to be designated in this way in no other place which is not likely to be dependent on Acts. The regular term among Hellenistic Jews was ἡ πεντηκοστή; Tob. 2, 1 (Β τῇ πεντηκοστῇ ἑορτῇ); 2 Macc. 12, 32; Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 10, 6 (252); xiv. 13, 4 (337); xvii. 10, 2 (254); *Bell. Jud.* i. 13, 3 (253); ii. 3, 1 (42); vi. 5, 3 (299). Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 8, 4 (252), uses the expression ἡ πεντηκοστή ἑορτή. The nearest analogy is found in the Old Testament passages in which the phrase ἡμέρα ἑορτῆς (especially ἐν ἡμέρα ἑορτῆς) occurs, Ps. 80, 4 (81, 3); Hos. 9, 5; Hos. 12, 9 (10); Zeph. 3, 17; Baruch 1, 14; Lam. 2, 7; 22. The phrase in the singular, τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, is not in itself impossible (cf. Acts. 20, 16),⁴ but the whole clause with συμπληροῦσθαι can properly mean only 'at the completion of the day of Pentecost.' This happens, however, to be conclusively shown by Acts 2, 15 not to be the writer's meaning.

The translation, 'while the day of Pentecost was in progress,' while perhaps abstractly possible, is unacceptable, partly because all the associations of συμπληροῦσθαι, as actually used, point to the idea of completion, not to that of progress, and partly because that would not in any case be a very natural way of referring to an event in the earliest hours of the morning of the day mentioned.

Nor does the alternative reading, τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, yield a satisfactory sense for a primitive writer, for, as noted above, 'the days of Pentecost' is a phrase without example in Old Testament or New Testament or among Hellenistic Jews,

⁴ This writer seems to display a similar tendency to refer to 'the day,' in his liking for the Old Testament phrase ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ σαββάτου (τῶν σαββάτων) Lk. 4, 16; 13, 14; 13, 16; Acts 13, 14; 16, 13, which no other New Testament writer uses; and in his probably quite incorrect expression, ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων, Lk. 22, 7.

and from their point of view possesses no natural meaning. The use of πεντηκοστή to denote the fifty paschal days after Easter is purely Christian and later, and there seems to be no foundation for the often repeated statement (so, e.g., Zöckler in *Prot. Realencycl.* s.v. 'Pfingsten') that it was the earlier usage, from which the application to the single day was later developed. Both Tertullian and Origen use 'Pentecost' in both senses in adjacent contexts of the same passage; Tertullian, *De bapt.* 19, cf. also *De idol.* 14, Origen, *Contra Cels.* viii. 22. The proper meaning of the phrase ἡ πεντηκοστή, as well as the uniform Hellenistic Jewish usage, make it virtually certain that the term was first used of the day of the feast, and later extended to cover the preceding seven weeks.

Thus, of the two readings one (with the singular) is unsuited to the verb, the other (with the plural) is a designation of the forty-nine days which a Greek author of the period would not have been likely to use if writing freely, and to which no known Hebrew or Aramaic usage would have guided him. The use by Origen, *Contra Cels.* viii. 22, of the phrase ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς πεντηκοστῆς makes it probable that the reading τὰς ἡμέρας of perp gig vg pesh is a correction of the difficult τὴν ἡμέραν, made under the influence of the later Christian conception. The variant may have arisen in the Latin and Syriac independently of each other. The opposite theory, whereby τὰς ἡμέρας would have been the original, is transcriptionally unlikely, because, after Christian institutions were developed, τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς πεντηκοστῆς was an expression perfectly comprehensible and unlikely to cause any difficulty, whereas the peculiar difficulty of ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς would have been ever increasingly apparent with advancing study of Old Testament and New Testament.

If it can be supposed that we have here a translation from Aramaic, it may well be that ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι correctly represents the original, while τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, as a term more intelligible to Christians, was substituted by the translator for an Aramaic phrase which correctly described the days of the seven Weeks. This is the view of C. C. Torrey (*Composition and Date of Acts*, 1916, p. 28), who proposes

וּבְמַשְׁלֵם שְׁבוּעָיָה, 'and when the Weeks were fulfilled.' At any rate, the investigation of the problem has so far yielded no other explanation which seems capable of explaining the Greek text.

III. THE GREEK TEXT OF CODEx LAUDIANUS

By reason of its romantic history the Codex Laudianus (E) of the Acts will always possess a unique interest. At some time after the year 534 it was in Sardinia, and it may well have been written in that island in the late sixth or early seventh century.⁵ The opening years of the eighth century found it in England at Jarrow, for it is unquestionably the Greek codex abundantly referred to by the Venerable Bede in his commentary on Acts.⁶ Some have supposed that it was brought from the continent by Theodore of Tarsus in 668, but in the absence of evidence that he brought any books a more sagacious conjecture would associate it with the manuscript treasures which were secured in Italy by Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid, and came to England a few years later than the Archbishop's arrival. In the period just before 716, the Latin columns of the codex seem here and there to have guided the scribe of Codex Amiatinus in producing his famous text of the Vulgate.

At a later date Codex E was in Germany, doubtless transported thither by one of the English missionaries, Willibrord or Boniface or some one of the latter's disciples, whom Christian zeal impelled to the evangelization of Northern Europe. Its home may have been Würzburg, and it may have come to that house, like many other manuscripts, through Burchard, whom Boniface consecrated bishop of Würzburg in 741 or earlier.⁷ During the Thirty Years' War, nine hundred years

⁵ Sardinia belonged to the Byzantine empire from the middle of the sixth century; Greek monks are known to have been there in the period of the monothelite controversies of the seventh century; J. Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, 1908, p. 158.

⁶ The close relation of Codex E to Bede's Greek text was mentioned by Richard Simon, '*Dissertation critique sur les principaux actes manuscrits*,' p. 60, appended to his *Histoire critique des principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam, 1693.

⁷ C. H. Turner, *Art*, 'New Testament, Text of,' in *Murray's Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, 1908, p. 586; A. Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament*, 1913, p. 29.

later, Würzburg was among the monastic houses sacked by the Swedish army, and in that period of upheaval Archbishop Laud, then chancellor of the University of Oxford, through his agents in Germany, was buying manuscripts from the loot of monasteries. The fruit of his characteristic energy and far-sighted interest in learning was the collection of precious books which he gave to his University. From that source this ancient copy of Acts came to the Bodleian Library in 1636, and it has there found its permanent home, with the designation Codex Laudianus 35. Scarcely in the case of any other manuscript of an age at all approaching that of E is so much known of the varying chances of its history. The earliest use of the readings of Codex Laudianus is to be found in the New Testament of Bishop John Fell, Oxford, 1675.

Codex Laudianus is a quarto of moderate size (27 by 24 centimeters), written in large uncials in two columns, Latin (commonly referred to as e) and Greek (designated E), the Latin occupying the place of honor (as John Mill said, "*ordine praepestero*") on the left of each page. The codex is nearly complete, some seven or eight leaves (Acts 26, 29—28, 26) having been lost. Noteworthy is the brevity of the lines, which often contain but a single word, and rarely as many as three. The scribe seems to have known Greek better than Latin, and occasionally Greek letters are found on the Latin side. It has been shown that the manuscript was probably copied from a bilingual predecessor constructed in the same manner.⁸

In constructing the text of a bilingual MS. arranged in this fashion, it is evident that the Latin and Greek texts must usually correspond. This is true of any bilingual, but peculiarly so where the lines are very short. The situation is not far from that of a text with an interlinear translation. No two independent texts of Acts, one Latin and one Greek, even though the Latin were made from the same type of Greek text as that represented by the Greek, can be arranged in this way without some adjustment, unless the Latin were characterized by a degree of mechanical literalness almost or quite without

⁸ A. Jülicher, 'Kritische Analyse der lateinischen Übersetzungen der Apostelgeschichte,' *Zeitschrift f. d. neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XV, 1914, pp. 182 f.

example in such cases. There are, indeed, in E occasional divergences between the Latin and Greek, but they are confined within the narrowest limits, affect only a word or two at a time, and are not of a nature to disarrange in the least the formal equivalence of the two columns.⁹ To make the plan work at all this equivalence has to be closer than in the longer lines of Codex Bezae.

Of such differences between the Latin and Greek of Codex Laudianus a few examples may here be given. They will serve to suggest how small a part the differences play in the whole manuscript.¹⁰

2, 2	omnem	ολον
14, 17	et tempora	καιρους
15, 40	Saulus	Παυλος
16, 12	prima partis	πρωτη μερις
17, 10	abierunt	εισηεσαν

A complete statement for chapter 10 of all the cases that can in any wise be called differences between e and E is as follows. In vs. 20 an obvious blunder has been committed by the scribe of e.

vs. 3	visum	εν οραματι
" 4	{ et timore	{ και εν φοβω
	{ repletus	{ γενομενος
" 7	cum eo	αυτω
	ex domesticis	των οικετων
" 10	esuriret	προσπεινος
" 16	et denuo	και ευθυς
" 20	{ cum eis	{ και πορεινου
	{ nihil	{ συν αυτοις
	{ nihil	{ μηδεν
" 22	testimonium autem habens	μαρτυρουμενος τε
" 30	in conspectu meo	ενωπιον
" 38	a diabolo	υπο του σατανα

⁹ Of course an occasional blunder creates a difference which was not in the exemplar, and was not intended in E e.

¹⁰ Tischendorf, in the Prolegomena to his edition of Codex Laudianus, Monumenta sacra inedita, Nova collectio, vol. IX, 1870, p. XVII, gives a number of other instances of difference, chiefly minor variation in conjunctions. In several of his cases the Latin e agrees with D.

In producing this harmony between the two columns it is natural to suppose that the Latin translation would ordinarily suffer adjustment to the Greek text used for the bilingual (that is, of course, for that ancestor of Codex E in which the parallel arrangement was first made). That in fact this often took place is clear. Tischendorf (pp. XVI f.) cites numerous examples of Latin solecisms and strange expressions plainly due to imitation of the Greek. Jülicher (pp. 183-185) gives other interesting and striking cases, while he remarks (p. 184) that on the other hand the Latin is for long passages an entirely satisfactory, competent, and careful translation. As he says (pp. 184, 185), a recognized Latin version, closely like that which underlies Codex Gigas and the Vulgate, and more remotely akin to that from which d had sprung, was taken as the foundation of the Latin of Codex E, and was usually altered only where it did not provide the text necessary to correspond to the Greek column. The character of these alterations leads Jülicher to the conclusion (p. 184) that the original bilingual ancestor of e E was probably the work of a man of the sixth century.

But if the agreement of Latin and Greek was effected in many places by an accommodation of the Latin translation, conversely it can be seen that the Greek text was altered in many other instances to fit the Latin. This has been observed at least since the time of Wetstein (1752; see vol. II, p. 451), although such critics as Scrivener, Gregory, and Kenyon have denied with great positiveness that "the Greek portion of this codex is Latinised."¹¹

Where the Latin text had more than the Greek, it was plainly necessary to make a translation into Greek of the excess in order to make the two columns agree. This was done with great skill by a well-educated man and a good Greek scholar,¹² and in

¹¹ Jülicher (op. cit. p. 182) speaks of the "impossibility" that the text of D or of E should anywhere have been altered to make it agree with d or e, but the whole context of his sentence raises the strong suspicion that "Unmöglichkeit" is a printer's error for 'Möglichkeit.'

¹² Zahn, *Die Herausgabe der Apostelgeschichte des Lucas*, 1916, p. 226, remarks that "der gewissenhafte und nicht ungebildete Schreiber den Lc in einem anständigen, eines solchen Schriftstellers würdigen Gewand vor den Leser treten lässt, recht im

many of the simpler phrases the Greek was so inevitable that the retranslation could hardly help agreeing with the original Greek text. In a number of instances, however, the difference of his translation from other extant Greek for the same passage betrays what has happened. The examples given in the table below (page 180) comprise nearly all the convincing instances mentioned by Wetstein, Tischendorf, Chase,¹³ Blass,¹⁴ and Nestle,¹⁵ together with a few newly observed.

All the readings of E in the table are instances of addition to the ordinary text. In many of them the addition is found in nearly or quite the same form in other Old-Latin copies besides e and d, so that it is clearly not a mere idiosyncrasy of Codex Laudianus. The form of these readings seems to show conclusively that their Greek is due to a new translation from the Latin; hence its disagreement with the other (and presumably original) Greek form of the added words.

Similar evidence of retranslation is to be found in the following readings, which are not additions to the ordinary text but actual variant words. In both passages the variation appears due to the Latin, and the Greek to be a mere imitation of the Latin reading.

e	E	
6, 7 discentium	των μαθανοντων	all others των μαθητων
12, 14 januam	την θυραν	“ “ τον πυλωνα

The recognizable and convincing instances of this latter type are naturally fewer than the additions, where retranslation was probably the only available means of getting any Greek text, but 6, 7 των μαθανοντων is a decisive piece of evidence.

In most similar cases the variation might, in itself considered, have had its original seat equally well in the Greek or the Latin text. Both Latinizing and Grecizing actually took place; ordinarily we cannot tell by inspection which is to be

Gegensatz zu dem unsauberen, ohne Geschmack und ohne ernstes Nachdenken aus allerlei verschiedenfarbigen Lappen zusammengefügten Anzug, in welchen Dd die AG und ihren Verfasser gekleidet hat.”

¹³ The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae, 1893, pp. 132-138.

¹⁴ Acta apostolorum, 1895, pp. 28 f.

¹⁵ Philologica Sacra, 1896, pp. 43-45.

C

- 2, 14 prior
 3, 13 in iudicium
 4, 32 et non erat separatio in eis
 ulla
 5, 12 in templo congregati
 5, 15 et liberarentur ab omni
 valitudine quam habe-
 bant

- 5, 38 non coinquinantes manus
 vestras
 5, 39 neque vos neque magistra-
 tus vestri
 6, 10 propter quod redargueren-
 tur ab eo cum omne fidu-
 cia: cum ergo non pos-
 sent contradicere veri-
 tati

- 7, 21 in flumen

- 8, 37 dixit autem ei philippus: si
 credis ex toto corde sus-
 cepis (e^{corr} saluus eris).
 respondens autem dixit:
 credo in christum filium
 dei

- 10, 41 per dies quadraginta

- 13, 6 quod interpretaetur ely-
 mas

- 13, 8 quoniam libenter eorum
 audiebat

- 13, 44 factum est autem per uni-
 versam civitatem diffamari
 verbum

- 14, 2 deus autem pacem fecit

- 14, 7 et commota est omnis mul-
 tudo in doctrina eorum.
 paulum autem et barna-
 bas morabantur in lystris

E

προτερον
 εις κριτηριον
 και ουκ την χωρισμος εν
 αυτοις τις
 εν τω ναω συνηγμενοι
 και ρυσθωσιν απο πασης
 ασθενιας ης ειχον

μη μολυνοντες τας χειρας
 υμων
 ουτε υμεις ουτε οι αρχον-
 τες υμων
 διοτι ηλεγχοντο υπ αυτου
 μετα πασης παρρησιας·
 επιδη ουκ ηδυνατο
 αντιλεγιν τη αληθεια

εις τον ποταμον

ειπεν δε αυτω ο φιλιππος·
 εαν πιστευεις εξ ολης
 της καρδιας σου σωθη-
 σει. αποκριθεις δε
 ειπεν· πιστευω εις τον
 χν τον υιον του θυ

δι ημερων τεσσαρακοντα
 ο μεθερμηνευεται ελυμας

οτι ηδεως αυτων ηκουεν

εγενετο δε κατα πασαν
 πολιν φημισθηναι τον
 λογον

ο δε θς ειρηνην εποιησεν

και εξεπλησσετο πασα
 η πολυπληθεια επι τη
 διδαχη αυτων. ο δε
 παυλος και βαρναβας
 διετριβον εν λυστροις

D πρωτος

D εις κρισιν

D και ουκ την διακρισις
 αυτοις ουδεμια

D min εν τω ιερω

D απηλλασσοντο γαρ
 απο πασης ασθεν-
 ως ειχεν εκαστος
 αυτων

D μη μιαναντες τας
 ρας

D ουτε υμεις ουτε βα-
 λεις ουτε τυραι

D δια το ελεγχεσθαι
 τους επ αυτου μετ
 πασης παρρησιας
 δυναμενοι ου<ν>
 αντοφθαλμειν τη
 αληθεια

D minn παρα τον
 ποταμον

5 ειπε δε ο φιλιππος·
 πιστευεις εξ ολης
 καρδιας εξεστιν.
 αποκριθεις δε ειπε
 πιστευω τον υιον
 θεου ειναι τον ιησ
 χριστον

D ημερας μ
 gig Lucif vg.codd, qu
 interpretaetur m
 ratus

D επιδη ηδιστα ηκο
 αυτων

D εγενετο δε καθ ολης
 πολεως διελθειν
 λογον του θυ

D ο δε κς εδωκεν ταχυν
 ειρηνην

D και εκεινηθη ολον
 πληθος επι τη διδα-
 ο δε παυλος και
 βαρναβας διετρι-
 εν λυστροις

assumed in a given instance. But the two lists printed above seem to consist of unmistakable Latinizations,¹⁶ and there is every reason to suppose that they are not the only examples of this process, whether we can surely detect others or not.

It is now time to turn to the Greek text of Codex E, and the problem of its character, for the consideration of which the above remarks form the necessary preparation. The statements under this head in the books are usually guarded;¹⁷ Kenyon's characterization of it as "of considerable value" may be taken as an example. The judgment of Hort (Introduction, p. 153) is carefully framed, and has doubtless exerted wide influence on opinion:

A Western text it [Codex Laudianus] does contain, very distinctly such, though evidently later than that of D; but mixed on apparently equal terms, though in varying proportions, with a no less distinctly Alexandrian text: there are also Syrian readings, but they are fewer in number.

But the common view of Codex E, as seen in the ordinary use of its readings in discussions of the text, is that it gives in large measure a true Greek "Western" text, which may be cited with confidence alongside of D and the mixed Greek minuscules, like the Milan codex (614, formerly 137). The collocation "Dd Ee" is familiar to all who have studied critical apparatus. Thus von Soden, although he states (p. 1687) that three pairs of manuscripts which support the text I^a, are superior to E, regularly combines D and E together as "δδf." Blass, however, both in his larger commentary (pp. 28 f.) and in his small edition of the text (p. XXI), expresses a different opinion, to the effect that E is largely not "Western," and that its text

¹⁶ Such Latin influence on the Greek text must be admitted in certain cases in Codex Bezae (for instance 2, 11 *απαβοι*; 16, 12 *κεφαλη*), even by those who do not accept Rendel Harris's far-reaching contentions. Of Codex G (Boernerianus) of Paul E. Diehl, *Zeitschrift f. d. neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XX, 1921, p. 107, writes: "Die Vergewaltigung des griechischen Textes durch den Lateiner in G ist so offenkundig, dass, wo immer G als einziger Grieche mit dem Lt. übereinstimmt, die lateinische Lesart als aus dem Griechischen nicht bezeugt zu gelten hat."

¹⁷ It may be observed in passing that Gregory's statement, *Prolegomena*, p. 411, footnote, that the Greek codex 218 (now 1522; e^{sor}; α464) has a text like that of E, is not borne out by a closer examination; but see Scrivener, *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis*, pp. lviii f.

is not of great moment. That he is right appears from an examination of the text itself.

From such an examination our conclusions are as follows:

1. The Greek text of E is chiefly a combination of readings found in B \aleph A C 81 (that is, the "Neutral" and "Alexandrian" texts) with others belonging to the "Antiochian" ("Syrian") text, as shown in H L P and excellent minuscule representatives. It ought thus to be classed with the numerous mixed codices which make up the supporters of von Soden's H-text. The impression that E shows a large "Western" element is due to the failure to observe that the agreement between E and D is nearly always accompanied by a further agreement either with at least one of the old uncials (B \aleph A C 81)¹⁸ or with the Antiochian text. In these cases there can be no assurance that the Greek text of E was derived in any degree from an exemplar essentially different from a non-western uncial of one or the other of the two types, older and later.

2. The readings of E not thus accounted for are relatively few in number. In nearly every instance they correspond with the Latin renderings of e, and the facts brought out above lead in many of these instances, and in most cases of "Western" additions, to the suspicion that the "Western" character ordinarily claimed for E is due to the retranslation of "Western" readings in e which had themselves been present in the Latin text of Acts, perhaps from as far back as the earliest African Latin translation from the Greek. In some cases agreement of such "Western" readings in E with those Greek minuscules which contain sporadic "Western" elements may justify the conclusion that the reading of E has been derived from a Greek source (so, for instance, in Acts 24, 6-8), but such sporadic "Western" readings are to be found (as in the case just men-

¹⁸ Codex 81 (formerly 61^{ao}; α 162; p^{scr}), while of course a minuscule, contains a text which approves itself in Acts as at least equally true to type with any of the old uncials, and it may properly be treated for practical purposes as one of them; see Hort, Introduction, p. 154. In fact, Codex 81 probably furnishes a better example of the standard Alexandrian text than any of the four uncials (B \aleph A C), for it shows fewer peculiar and erratic readings. It rarely stands by itself in the group, except where it shows (as do also A and C, and in less degree \aleph) Antiochian influence.

tioned) even in the *Textus Receptus*, and do not justify the application of the name "Western" to a manuscript containing them. The important point is that the existence of readings of this sort in E does not entitle us to treat other peculiar readings of the same codex, where no parallel Greek evidence (apart from D) is at hand, as survivals of the *Greek* "Western" text. They are probably only evidence for the Latin "Western" text from which they came into E.

Here are some representative facts. If we take chapters 14 and 15 of Acts, we have the following figures: ¹⁹

E departs from old-uncial group	70 times
Of these E agrees with Antiochian text	27 times
	<hr/> 43

Of this remainder of 43 readings, which are derived neither from the old-uncial text nor from the Antiochian, E agrees completely with D only 7 times, and incompletely only 6 times more. Now in the two chapters the specific Antiochian readings, in which the Antiochian wholly departs from all five codices of the old uncial group, are only 43 in number, and only 17 more occur where it departs from all but one of the group. That is to say, where the Antiochian departs from all the old uncials, E follows the Antiochian two-thirds of the time. Where the Antiochian departs from all but one of the old uncials, E follows it nearly always. On the other hand, if we may accept D as affording an approximate idea of the "Western" text, E departs from the "Western" text nearly 200 times. In view of these figures Hort's statement, quoted above, about the number of Syrian readings in E seems hardly adequate. It is the only sentence I know relating to textual criticism from the pen of that wise and trustworthy scholar which puts the reader distinctly on the wrong track.

It may be well to add that of the 70 cases in chapters 14 and

¹⁹ The figures stated in these investigations cannot be guaranteed as more than approximate, but they are very nearly accurate, and the margin of possible error does not affect their value for the purposes for which they are employed. Mere variations of spelling have been neglected.

15 where E departs from the old-uncial group, only three (one an obvious lapsus pennae) show a positive difference between e and E.

An examination of other parts of E yields a similar result. Thus for chapter 18 the list of readings where E is in agreement with neither Codex B nor the Antiochian text is as follows:

- 18, 2 δία] + δε
 6 προς αυτοὺς] αυτοῖς
 7 τιτοῦ ἰουστοῦ
 10 om σοι
 19 αὐτοῦ] ἐκεῖ
 26 θεοῦ] κυρίου
 27 εἰς τὴν ἀχαίαν διελθεῖν
 28 κατηλεγχέτο
 δημοσία] + καὶ κατ οἶκον
 om τὸν before χριστὸν

Of these readings only two are shared with D; in only one (vs. 6, αὐτοῖς) does e fail to support E.

An analysis made of the readings of E in chapters 1 and 2 and in chapter 12 yields a similar result.

The element in Codex Laudianus which cannot be accounted for from either of the two texts (old-uncial and Antiochian) from which E is mainly derived is thus relatively small. It is doubtless drawn in part from the peculiar readings of the special types of old-uncial and Antiochian codices to which E owes its origin; but although these peculiar readings may sometimes, or often, be of "Western" origin, that, as has been said above, does not suffice to make E a witness to the "Western" text. By itself E is incapable of teaching us what the "Western" text was; only when some outside source offers convincing proof, can we recognize any reading of E as "Western." And the use even of this small element of the text as a guide to the Greek forbears of E is vitiated by the constant possibility that any given strange reading may be merely due to a retranslation from the Latin column.

In a word, the more striking Greek "Western" readings of Codex Laudianus are due to the presence, in the Latin text used, of "Western" additions which had to be translated into Greek in order to fill out the Greek column of the manuscript (or, rather, of its exemplar). These new translations often betray their origin by differing notably in form from their Greek counterparts in Codex Bezae, but they constitute the chief, if not the sole, ground for the common impression about the manuscript (and for Hort's statement) that the text of E contains a distinct "Western" element. The agreements of E with D in other, single, readings are far less numerous than is often supposed, and most of them occur in cases where D and the old uncials are in agreement, so that such readings plainly have no claim to distinctively "Western" character, but merely testify to the sound, ancient text which forms one of the two original components of the text of E.

It thus appears that not much is to be learned from the Greek text of Codex Laudianus, and that, as a means of bringing us nearer either to the old-uncial text or to the "Western" text, its readings are hardly worth including in a textual apparatus. With the Latin text of e the case is quite different, for that is a significant member of a group of representatives of a highly important recension of the Latin New Testament.

And yet the Greek of Codex Laudianus does render the textual critic one service. The origin and history of the Antiochian text constitutes an important problem, which must be worked out if the whole problem of the textual criticism of the New Testament is to be perfectly solved. The earliest extant manuscripts of Acts containing the characteristic Antiochian text as a whole are uncials of the ninth century, far removed in date from the fourth century, in which the Antiochian text is believed to have had its origin; and we crave light on the intervening period. One leaf of a palimpsest with an unmistakably Antiochian text of Acts was found in the Genizah at Cairo, and dates from the sixth century.²⁰ Codex Laudianus is certainly almost

²⁰ C. Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter Collection*, 1900, p. 94.

as old as that, and in its composition the Antiochian ingredient is strong. It is a strange conclusion, in view of the general repute and frequent use of Codex Laudianus as "Western," but nevertheless it seems to be the fact, that the Greek text of E owes its chief importance to being the most ancient Greek copy of the Book of Acts extant which contains so large a proportion of Antiochian readings that it can be treated as a witness (though a mixed one) to the Antiochian text.²¹

²¹ For other illustrations of the several types of reading to be found in E see the elaborate analysis and lists in Von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, I. Teil, 3. Abteilung, pp. 1709, 1717-1720, 1811-1814.

A NEW COLLECTION OF "ACTA CONCILIORUM OECUMENICORUM": AN APPEAL

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IN 1901-1906 the publishing office of Hubert Welter in Paris issued a new edition of the well-known "*Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*," edited in 1759-1798 by J. D. Mansi. This "new Mansi" is a mere reprint, which allowed no correction or enlargement of Mansi's text, the pages being reproduced almost photographically. Did the publisher of this reprinted Mansi and his advisers give a "*testimonium paupertatis*" to modern scholars, by thus reproducing a collection which appeared one hundred and fifty years ago? Not in the least. The modern manner of editing ancient texts was rather recognized than disregarded by assuming that a really new edition of Mansi's collection was impossible. It was indeed quite impossible; for while all scholars who have made use of Mansi's collection have perceived its defects, yet at the same time they have seen that to correct them would require more time than can be spent on a new edition.

Mansi's collection has two chief defects. The first lies in its texts. Of all collections of *Acta Conciliorum* only the first (edited 1523 by J. Merlin), the Roman edition of 1608-1612, and the "*Nova collectio conciliorum*" of Stephen Baluze (Paris, 1683) printed all their texts from manuscripts. Manuscripts were studied, of course, by the later editors, who made use of them especially in preparing the additions which they gave; but the greater part of their texts were reprinted from the earlier collections. Mansi's collection is famous as the last and the richest of all (39 volumes folio), but it is not better than the others which followed the Roman collection, and is far from absolving the task. Modern editors cannot dispense themselves from the duty of collecting and examining the manu-

scripts as completely as possible, and of reconstructing the texts with the utmost exactness.

The second serious defect in Mansi is common to all printed collections without exception. The student can seldom discover from what manuscripts the texts are taken; and when, as is generally the case, a series of documents is given, the order in which these stand in the manuscripts is not made clear, being altered by chronological reflections. Modern scholarship, especially since the famous work of F. Maassen (*"Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters,"* Graz, 1870), is interested not only in the isolated texts, but also in the order in which they are found in the ancient manuscript collections. We have learned how much profit is to be gained for history itself by analyzing and exploring these collections. The task of correcting this second defect of Mansi's collection is a very intricate and extensive one, and every competent judge will understand that even a Nestor's life, nay ten lives of ten co-operators reaching the second limit of the ninetieth psalm, would not suffice for the duty of a modern editor with regard to all the texts and all the collections printed by Mansi. This was acknowledged in practice when Mansi's *"Collectio conciliorum"* was republished in a mechanical reprint.

Beyond all doubt, however, the new Mansi is not what modern study of the councils requires. And since the whole work, namely a new edition of all *"Acta conciliorum,"* is impossible, that part which is possible must be done; that is, the acts of single councils, or of coherent series of councils, must be edited one after another with all the accuracy required by the modern scientific conscience.

Now among the acts of councils none are of greater historical importance and more universal religious interest to scholars of all confessions than those of the oecumenical councils of the ancient church. To make a new edition of these acts is not at all an easy task, but it is not so extensive a one as might seem at first sight. For the "acts" of the first oecumenical council probably never comprised more than its creed and its canons, together with the list of the members and the

official letters of the synod (minutes, as it seems, not having been taken); and the minutes of the so-called second oecumenical council, which, as I think, once existed, have not been preserved for posterity. Only for the succeeding councils do the minutes, or parts of the minutes, still exist, accompanied in the "acts" of our manuscripts by letters, addresses, and resolutions belonging to the councils or relating to the subject of their proceedings. On the other hand, a critical edition of these oldest "Acta conciliorum," has its own great difficulties in the case of all these councils, although in different ways in the several cases. The very first of these, the Ephesian council of 431, involves more difficulties than the others, the acts of this council being of an exceedingly intricate sort. For as this "holy third oecumenical council" was actually divided into two opposing synods, that of Cyril and his party and that of the Antiochians, one single collection of its minutes and documents never existed, but from the beginning there were two; and documents of different origin were often intermingled in the manuscripts, documents of the one collection being omitted and documents of the other added. The whole of the Antiochian form of the acts is irreparably lost; only for the Cyrillian synod are minutes preserved, and these in a very scanty form, combined with a varying number of documents. Mansi's "Collectio conciliorum" offers only that form of these Ephesian acts which is preserved in a single class of manuscripts and printed in the earlier editions, together with a further Latin collection containing many documents of Antiochian origin. A modern editor has here to disentangle a very complicated manuscript tradition, for he must enable his readers to survey all the forms of collections existing in the manuscripts, and moreover must print all the extant documents in such a manner that their place in the manuscripts from which they are taken is clearly recognizable. Only after long labor of collection and comparison of manuscripts can all this be done. For the acts of the later councils the editor's task is less intricate. Even that work, however, can be performed only by a scholar with adequate palaeographical and philological knowledge in both Greek and Latin, occasionally also in Syriac, and by one who

is at the same time familiar with the history of the ancient church in all its branches.

Therefore the "Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft in Strassburg" (transferred to Heidelberg after the war), when projecting in 1909 a new edition of "*Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*," was fortunate to secure an editor competent and courageous enough to perform the task in Professor Eduard Schwartz, then at Freiburg, in 1897-1902 at Strassburg, and now at Munich. Indeed, the Society would never have planned so vast and difficult an undertaking, if this scholar had not been one of its members. If anyone in the world is equal to the task, it is Dr. Schwartz, for he is not only one of our best philologists, but has proved himself also an eminent expert in chronology and in the history of the ancient church and its ecclesiastical law. Evidence of this is given by his studies, "*Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*" (*Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1904, 1905, 1908, 1911); by his admirable work, "*Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln*" (*Abhandlungen der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, VIII, 1905, No. 6); by his article, "*Eusebios von Caesarea*" (*Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie*, VI, 1, 1907); by his paper, "*Über die pseudoapostolischen Kirchenordnungen*" (*Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg*, No. 6, 1910); by his "*Kaiser Constantin und die christliche Kirche*" (*Leipzig*, 1913); by his "*Konzilstudien*" (*Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg*, Heft 20, 1914); and by different treatises from his pen in various journals, such as the essays, "*Johannes Rufus, ein monophysitischer Schriftsteller*" (*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-histor. Kl.* 1912, Abhandlung 16); "*Zur Vorgeschichte des Ephesinischen Konzils*" (*Historische Zeitschrift*, Band 112, 1914, pp. 237-263); "*Über die Reichskonzilien von Theodosius bis Justinian*" (*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, XLII, kan. Abt., XI, 1921, pp. 208-254); and (the last fruit of his indefatigable research) the essays, "*Die sogenannten Gegenantheismen des Nestorius*," and "*Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets*" (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der*

Wissenschaften, philos.-philolog. und historische Klasse, 1922, Abhandlung 1).

More than thirteen years have elapsed since the Strassburg Society resolved to bring out this new edition of "Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum." The earliest volume (IV, 2; see below) was issued in 1914. Then the war interrupted the preparation of further volumes. At its close Dr. Schwartz resumed his work with intensity. In 1914, with the initial volume, a plan of the whole was issued, promising more than "Acta conciliorum." Rightly considering that the different councils are linked to one another not only by the nature of the questions discussed and by the course of events, but also by contemporary collections of letters, addresses, and similar documents relating to their proceedings, the Strassburg Society had resolved to combine the edition of these latter collections with that of the Acts. Eight "tomes" were projected:

Tomus I. Concilium Ephesinum anni 431.

Vol. 1: Acta graeca.

Vol. 2: Acta latina collectionis Veronensis (Maassen, § 739-741).

Vol. 3: Acta latina collectionis Turonensis (Maassen, § 735-738).

Vol. 4: Synodicon Casinense (Maassen, § 745-746).

Vol. 5: Marius Mercator (now formulated otherwise, see below).

Tomus II. Concilium Chalcedonense.

Vol. 1: Acta graeca.

Vol. 2: Versiones latinae antiquissimae.

Vol. 3: Versio antiqua.

Vol. 4: Versio a Rustico correcta (Maassen, § 755-761).

Vol. 5: Codex encyclius (Maassen, § 762-765). Collectiones epistularum et libellorum de schismate Acaciano (Maassen, § 777-778).

Vol. 6 (now abandoned): Collectiones epistularum Leonis papae, quae ad haeresim Eutychanam pertinent.

Tomus III. Collectio contra Monophysitas et Origenistas destinata. Insunt acta synodorum Constantinopolitanae et Hierosolymitanae anni 536 (Maassen, § 766-768).

Tomus IV. Concilium Constantinopolitanum anni 553.

Vol. 1: Acta concilii.

Vol. 2: *Johannis Maxentii libelli. Collectio codicis Novariensis XXX. Collectio codicis Parisini 1682. Procli tomus ad Armenios. Johannis papae II epistula ad viros illustres.*

Tomus V. Concilium Constantinopolitanum anni 680–681.

Vol. 1: Acta graeca.

Vol. 2: Acta latina.

Vol. 3: Synodus Lateranensis anni 649.

Tomus VI. Concilium Nicaenum alterum.

Vol. 1: Acta graeca.

Vol. 2.: Versio Anastasii bibliothecarii.

Tomus VII. Concilium Constantinopolitanum anni 869 (the eighth oecumenical council according to Roman Catholic reckoning, but not acknowledged by the Greek Church).

Tomus VIII. Concilium Constantinopolitanum anni 879 (closely connected with the former and highly esteemed by the Greek church, although not as oecumenical, but condemned by the Roman Church).

The initial volume (tom. IV, vol. 2) appeared in 1914, but in spite of its splendid form and great value to scholars, it was not the happiest possible inauguration of the undertaking. The texts here given are, indeed, important as illustrating the antecedents of the fifth council, and the works of Maxentius were now printed for the first time in a critical edition (the only existing manuscript having been newly recovered); nevertheless the volume, containing no text hitherto entirely unknown, was not one of those which scholars most eagerly awaited, for their main interest lies rather in the first tome with its five volumes. How much is to be expected from these volumes relating to the Ephesian council of 431, Dr. Schwartz showed two years ago in a paper, "Neue Aktenstücke zum ephesinischen Konzil von 431" (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, Band XXX, Abhandlung 8, Munich, 1920). Two points in this essay are especially remarkable. First, the announcement of the recent discovery at

Athens (by Professor A. Ehrhard) of a manuscript of the Ephesian acts, communicated in photographs to Dr. Schwartz early in 1914. This manuscript is not an old one (saec. XIII), but it contains about forty-five documents, a relatively large number, hitherto either completely unknown, or not known in their Greek text. Dr. Schwartz has made a preliminary publication of these texts in his paper, and will give a fuller edition of them in Tome I, 1 of the "Acta conciliorum." The second point of interest is that in this paper Dr. Schwartz has been able to classify the manuscripts of the Ephesian acts. Setting apart the varying additions, found in most of the manuscripts, he distinguishes three collections: a larger one preserved in cod. Vatic. 830 (and its copies), and two collections of less extent, namely, that found in the cod. Atheniensis (A) and that designated as S, contained in cod. Coislin. 32, olim Seguirianus, and some other manuscripts. Similar to the collections A and S (particularly to the latter) is the Latin collection of cod. Paris. 1572, olim Turonensis, published by Baluze (unfortunately in combination with documents of other origin). Besides this "Collectio Turonensis," two other Latin collections (partly more or less akin to that of Tours) are extant: "Collectio Veronensis" and the so-called "Synodicon Casinense." The latter, imperfectly edited by Christian Lupus (Louvain, 1673) and in the "Nova collectio" of Stephen Baluze, is of great interest because it combines with the "Collectio Turonensis" many documents of Antiochian origin. In thus distinguishing various collections and in insisting upon the necessity of printing these collections in their proper order, Dr. Schwartz does not follow a barren notion of scholarly exactness, as may be made plain by two observations. In 1914, as we have seen, Tome I, vol. 5 was announced as to contain "Marius Mercator." Meanwhile, however, Dr. Schwartz examined thoroughly cod. Paris. 234, an ancient copy of which, now lost, had been used by Joh. Garnier in editing "Marius Mercator" in 1673, while Stephen Baluze in his edition of the same author (1684) based his text on a modern copy. In examining the Paris manuscript, Dr. Schwartz observed that in it the works, or certain works, of Marius Mercator are only a

part of the contents, the rest showing clearly that the manuscript is a collection compiled in the sixth century. Thus the name of Marius Mercator has to be withdrawn from nearly half the works or translations hitherto ascribed to him, while a new source is gained, useful for the history of the sixth century. Therefore an announcement of the "*Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*," newly issued in 1922 by the publishers (Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger, Berlin), mentions Tome I, 5 as comprising "*Collectiones Palatina* [partly by Marius Mercator] *et Sichardiana*" (cf. E. Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, pp. 57 f.). The second observation is of more general interest. Studying the various collections of Ephesian *acta*, Dr. Schwartz has become convinced, and in his above mentioned paper, "*Neue Aktenstücke*," he convinces his readers, that the "*Acta concilii Ephesini*" in their most original forms did not come into existence by the insertion of letters, addresses, etc., into a copy of the minutes drawn up at the council, but by the addition of the minutes, or parts of them, to documents of party interest, so that those collections, far from being composed in order to illustrate history, are to be regarded as closely connected with church politics, being themselves the product of controversial activity. The same observation, although not, as I think, to the same extent, is to be made respecting the "*Acta Chalcedonensia*."

In this way the "*Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*" are becoming sources of church-history not only as reports of events of an earlier period, but also for the very days of their origin. Such importance, however, can only be attributed to the "*Acta conciliorum*" when they have been edited with such accuracy as Dr. Schwartz will employ, and already has employed, in his edition. It is, therefore, of vital interest for church history, that the great, nay stupendous, undertaking of Dr. Schwartz should be accomplished, at least to the extent of the first four tomes. Tome V and Tome VI are perhaps not so necessary, and Tome VII and Tome VIII might be called superfluous, so far as this series is concerned.

And so I come to the proper intention of these lines. After the war, in consideration of the high price of paper and printing,

the publishers at first despaired of continuing the projected work. For more than a year it was doubtful whether all Dr. Schwartz's work had not been in vain, or at least whether it could be made available in our time. But the publishers have bravely resolved to carry out the plan, and parts of Tome I, vol. 4 have recently been printed and published. Many other volumes are so far completed that the press will not become idle for want of manuscript — if only the volumes can be sold. An appeal is made to all who are interested in church history and in the history of the later Roman empire. Each subscription, to be made through booksellers or directly to the "Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger," Geuthinerstrasse 38, Berlin W 10, will be a real assistance.

After the great war few things remain in our troubled world to which genuine international esteem and interest attach; but one such, perhaps the only one, is knowledge and all that can promote it.

NOTES

'EMBPIMHΣAMENOS AND 'OPTIZΘEIS, MARK 1, 40-43

The interpretation of these verses and the textual problem which they involve has long been disputed among critics. With the ordinary text the difficulty begins with the word *ἐμβριμησάμενος* in vs. 43. It means 'scolding,' or 'rebuking,' and no reason can be seen for Jesus' adopting this attitude towards the man whom he had just healed. The matter becomes even more complicated if the variant readings in verse 41 be considered. The ordinary texts read *σπλαγχνισθείς*, 'having compassion on him,' but one of the earliest, Codex Bezae, reads *ὀργισθείς*, 'being angry with him,' or perhaps more accurately, 'being in a passion,' although nothing in the story explains why Jesus should have been in a passion with the unfortunate leper. With this agree several old Latin codices.¹ It seems probable that *ὀργισθείς* is the original reading; it certainly is "hard," and there was no reason why *σπλαγχνισθείς* should be changed to it, though the reverse change is not difficult to understand. Perhaps the explanation can be found in the punctuation. I suggest that it should be punctuated and translated as follows: 'And there came to him a leper beseeching him and kneeling and saying to him, If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean; and he [the leper] put out his hand in a passion of rage and touched him. And he [Jesus] said, I will, be thou clean. And immediately the leprosy departed from him and he was clean. And he rebuked him and immediately drove him out.'

A sudden access of rage on the part of a leper, struck by the misery and impossibility of his situation, is comprehensible, and the touching of Jesus would be a not unnatural expression of such passion. To touch anyone was the one thing expressly forbidden to lepers. A similar impulse is brought out with great skill in Rudyard Kipling's story, entitled "The Mark of the Beast."

¹ The reference in von Soden's apparatus to *ὀργισθείς* as occurring in Tatian (Ephrem's commentary) seems to be due to a mistake. The language of Ephrem is fully accounted for by *ἐμβριμησάμενος*, and does not imply that the Diatessaron read *ὀργισθείς* for *σπλαγχνισθείς*. But see J. R. Harris, *Expositor*, October 1922, pp. 259-261.

But to a later generation of readers the natural reference of 'touched him' would be to the healing touch of Jesus. The phrase once misinterpreted, it was natural to change *ὀργισθεῖς*, which had now no meaning, into *σπλαγχνισθεῖς*. That done, *ἐμβριμησάμενος* loses all force, whereas with the interpretation now suggested it is the natural rebuke of Jesus for the leper's unwarrantable act in a moment of passion. It is obvious that in any case the change of reference in the 'he' and the 'him' is obscure, but it is also clear that the change of subject has to be made somewhere in this long and inartistic sentence. To make the sense plain, the latest manuscripts insert the name of Jesus before *σπλαγχνισθεῖς*, but this is undoubtedly an emendation of late date. It is far more likely that the real change of subject comes, as suggested above, with *λέγει* in vs. 41.

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THE DATE OF THE ACTS OF PHILEAS AND PHILOROMUS

The Acts of Phileas and Philoromus are often cited among the more authentic documents which we possess for the persecution of Diocletian. As such they are included in Ruinart's "*Acta martyrum sincera*" and Knopf's "*Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten.*" Delehaye¹ classes them with his third group of hagiographic sources, that is, with those accounts which are drawn either from the *procès-verbaux* or from the reports of eyewitnesses. Harnack,² Tillemont,³ Allard,⁴ Le Blant,⁵ and Mason⁶ are likewise convinced of their historical credibility. On the contrary, Schmidt,⁷ Holl,⁸ and Schwartz⁹ are agreed in rejecting them: the first, without any serious proof; the second, on the negligible ground that one or two stock phrases are

¹ *Légendes hagiographiques*, 2. ed., Bruxelles, 1906, p. 137.

² *Die Chronologie der althechristlichen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1904, II. 2, p. 70.

³ *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, V, Bruxelles, 1732, p. 206.

⁴ *La persécution de Dioclétien et le triomphe de l'église*, II, Paris, 1908, p. 105, note 3.

⁵ *Note sur les actes de S. Philéas*, in *Nuovo Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, II, 1896, pp. 27-33.

⁶ *The Persecution of Diocletian*, London, 1876, pp. 290-294; *The Historic Martyrs of the Primitive Church*, London, 1905, pp. 318-323.

⁷ *Texte und Untersuchungen*, N. F., V, p. 22.

⁸ *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klassische Altertum*, 1914, pp. 537 f.

⁹ *Göttinger Nachrichten*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1905, p. 176, note 2.

repeated which are common to other Acta; and the third, for the more serious reason that he believes them to contain extracts from Rufinus's translation of Eusebius's Church History. This appears to be the view of Duchesne¹⁰ also, for he writes: "*La passion des saints Philéas et Philorome . . . peut avoir été retouchée çà et là d'après Rufin, mais elle contient de bonnes parties.*" The opposite of this, however, seems to be the case, namely, that the tradition of the Latin Acts of Phileas and Philoromus antedates Rufinus, and consequently that the passage in Rufinus is dependent upon these Acts.¹¹ Moreover Eusebius's Church History¹² admirably supplements and corroborates the specific data of the Acts, thus affording a substantial reason for accepting as historical the greater part of their contents. Perhaps the most judicious procedure would be to observe the rule which Delehay¹³ has formulated for the criticism of epic Passions, namely, to accept as historically authentic the more original and personal sections (such as the dialogue and the facts of the persecution), but to be extremely circumspect regarding the commonplaces.

The historical facts to be gleaned from the Acta and from Eusebius are as follows. The two martyrs, Phileas and Philoromus, were of noble and wealthy Egyptian families; the former, a well-known bishop of Thmuis (lower Egypt), is likewise known to us through a pastoral letter on the then current persecution preserved in Eusebius's Church History¹⁴ — in courage, nobility of spirit, and dignity of speech a parallel to the pastoral exhortations of Cardinal Mercier to his suffering co-religionists in Belgium during the late war. This Phileas, Eusebius informs us,¹⁵ was notable for his excellent education, his great wealth, and his wide and enthusiastic knowledge of philosophy. In the Acta he engages in a spirited dialogue with the Egyptian prefect, Culcian, who seems to have had a certain acquaintance with pagan polemical literature — rather with the "True Word" of Celsus than with Porphyry, "Against the Christians," I should judge. Culcian and Phileas discuss an amazing range of subjects — Christian opposition to sacrifices, the Jewish view of sacrifices, Paul of Tarsus, Plato, Socrates, the soul, the nature of God,

¹⁰ Histoire ancienne de l'église, II, 4. ed., Paris, 1910, p. 46, note 3.

¹¹ Cf. Delehay, Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires, Bruxelles, 1921, p. 143, note 2.

¹² Hist. eccles. (ed. Schwartz), viii, 9, 6-8.

¹³ Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires, pp. 435-437.

¹⁴ Cf. Hist. eccles., viii, 10, 2-10; reprinted in Knopf, Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten, Tübingen, 1913, pp. 95-96.

¹⁵ Hist. eccles., viii, 9, 6-8.

and the divinity of Christ — and although they represent opposite poles of religious thought, there is much show of reciprocal forbearance, and an absence of personal abuse which is most refreshing because so rare to the reader of the *Acta Sanctorum*.¹⁶ When Phileas, refusing to sacrifice to the gods, quotes the scriptural penalty of destruction, *nisi soli deo*, Culcian requests him to sacrifice to his one God (*immola ergo deo soli*).¹⁷ Later, when Phileas again refuses to sacrifice, Culcian asks if it is because of his conscience,¹⁸ an interesting admission on the part of a Roman magistrate, for it indicates a genuine attempt to understand the real nature of Christianity and the fundamental reason for objecting to the command to sacrifice. Culcian even expresses a certain admiration for Phileas, saying that he could have done hurt to Phileas in his own town, but that he forbore, because he wished instead to show him his kindly regard, to which Phileas responds in effect: 'Many thanks, but pray be bolder; do your duty, and make a martyr of me.'¹⁹ Culcian, who has thus far shown great patience, now becomes exasperated, and declares: "If I knew that you were in want and had therefore succumbed to this folly (Christianity), I would not spare you; but I know that you are very wealthy and capable of supporting not only yourself but almost the entire province—I therefore spare you and urge you to sacrifice."²⁰ Phileas persists in his refusal, the intervention of the attending lawyers (his pagan brother among them) effects a delay, and he is then subjected, as Eusebius also states,²¹ to the entreaties of relatives and friends: *advocati et officium uno cum curatore et cum omnibus propinquis eius pedes eius complectabantur, rogantes ut respectum haberet uxoris et curam susciperet liberorum*.²² Intercession is now made by Philoromus, prominent in the Egyptian imperial service, who makes an impassioned plea for Phileas's rights of conscience. The wrath of presiding magistrate and audience is now directed against Philoromus,

¹⁶ Cf. Acts of Phileas and Philoromus, cc. 1-2; in Knopf, pp. 97-100.

¹⁷ The hypothesis of Allard, that we have here a play of words (*soli deo, deo soli*) to denote the cult of the Sol invictus appears to be too ingenious. Cf. Allard, *La persécution de Dioclétien*, II, p. 106, note 1. Knopf (p. 97, l. 15) capitalizes *Soli*, thus accepting Allard's view. I prefer, with Tillemont (*Mémoires*, V, p. 207) the simpler and more obvious sense. Note, too, but a few lines further on (Knopf, p. 97, l. 28) the same combination of words, "*Deo soli in Jerosolyma*."

¹⁸ Cf. *Acta*, c. 1 (Knopf, p. 98, l. 20).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, c. 2 (Knopf, p. 99, ll. 22-25).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²¹ *Hist. eccles.*, viii, 9, 8.

²² *Acta*, c. 2 (Knopf, p. 100, ll. 15-18).

and in all probability an interrogatoire took place which the documentary tradition has unfortunately not preserved.²³ Culcian thereupon condemns both Phileas and Philoromus to suffer death by the sword.²⁴

Such in substance is the story of the martyrdom as transmitted to us by the *Acta*. The problem of the date of the events has called out divers conjectures on the part of scholars. Although all are agreed in assigning the *Acts* to the period of Maximinus Daja's rule in Egypt (from May 1, 305 until the summer of 313), accord as to the exact year is wanting. Tillemont²⁵ fixes the limits at from 306 to 311, and seems to prefer 310. Harnack,²⁶ Schmidt,²⁷ and more recently Cantarelli²⁸ and Delehaye²⁹ have decided for 305. Leclercq,³⁰ although he blunders in naming Culcian the successor of Hierocles as prefect of Egypt, seems right in dating the martyrdom at least a year later, namely in 306. Allard,³¹ with a certain show of reason, has determined upon 307. The facts involved in the problem are: (1) February 4th as the date of Phileas's death on the evidence of Jerome's *Martyrology*; ³² (2) the statement by Eusebius ³³ that both Phileas and Philoromus suffered martyrdom, but without any precise chronological indications; (3) the frequent reference in the *Acta* to Culcian as the trial judge and prefect of Egypt; ³⁴ (4) the information drawn from two *Oxyrhynchus papyri* to the effect that Culcian was prefect of Egypt in February 303 and May 305; ³⁵ (5) the existence of a joint letter of the bishops Phileas, Hesychius, Theodore, and Pachomius, written during their imprisonment and addressed to Melitius, bishop of Lycopolis, protesting against the latter's uncanoni-

²³ Cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, V, p. 208. Allard (*La persécution de Dioclétien*, II, p. 112, note 1) is assuredly wrong in holding that there was no interrogatoire of Philoromus, for that would have been contrary to all established usage. Cf. Geffcken in *Hermes*, 1910, p. 491.

²⁴ *Hist. eccles.*, viii, 9, 8; and *Acta SS. Phileae et Philoromi*, c. 3 (Knopf, pp. 100 f.).

²⁵ *Mémoires*, V, pp. 196, 209.

²⁶ *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur*, II, 2, p. 70.

²⁷ *Texte und Untersuchungen*, N. F., V, 1901, p. 22.

²⁸ *Mémorie d. R. Accademia dei Lincei*, XIV, 6, 1911, p. 324 f.

²⁹ *Analecta Bollandiana*, XL, 1922, p. 26.

³⁰ *Les Martyrs: le troisième siècle, Dioclétien*, II, Paris, 1903, p. 290.

³¹ *La persécution de Dioclétien*, II, p. 105.

³² Cf. edition of De Rossi-Duchesne, *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (Bruxelles, 1894), published as preface to vol. II, November, of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

³³ *Hist. eccles.*, loc. cit.

³⁴ *Acta SS. Phileae et Philoromi*, cc. 1-3, Knopf, pp. 97-101.

³⁵ *Pap. Oxyrh.* I, 1898, 71, p. 132; and *Pap. Oxyrh.* VI, 895; cf. Cantarelli, loc. cit.

cal ordinations in the diocese of Alexandria while the Alexandrian bishop, Peter, was absent in flight from the persecution;³⁶ (6) the condemnation and excommunication of Melitius by the ecclesiastical Council of Alexandria at Eastertide, 306;³⁷ (7) the evidence given in the "Palestinian Martyrs" of Eusebius to the effect that Aedesius, brother of the martyred Apphian (April 2, 306), endured much suffering, punishment, and torture for his faith shortly after (σ μικρὸν τῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον) Apphian's death, was then condemned to the mines, was released, and subsequently was martyred by the command of Hierocles, prefect of Egypt.³⁸ A consistent outline of the chronology of these data would be as follows: Phileas and his fellow bishops were imprisoned by Maximinus Daja toward the end of the year 305 (the year which marked the beginning of the Melitian schism), and addressed their joint letter to Melitius before Easter of 306; Phileas was brought for trial before Culcian, condemned, and executed at some time before Hierocles succeeded Culcian as prefect of Egypt. The latest date we have for Culcian's prefecture (on the basis of the papyri) is May 305, but for the martyrdom of Phileas and Philoromus this is not to be regarded as a terminus ad quem, as is done by Delehay³⁹ and Cantarelli,⁴⁰ but only as a terminus a quo. There is a double explanation for this: first, the papyrus evidence shows that Culcian held office during May 305, and probably for an indefinite period thereafter; secondly, the unanimous testimony of primary and secondary sources indicates that Phileas and Philoromus were martyred at the time when Maximinus Daja ruled Egypt, that is, between May 1, 305, and June 313. The real problem therefore is the date of Culcian's successor. Cantarelli⁴¹ designates a certain Eustratius as having been prefect of Egypt for the year 306, and assigns the prefecture of Hierocles to the year 307, supporting his argument by the conclusions of Schmidt,⁴² who had advanced the date of the martyrdom of Aedesius to the year 308. I am inclined to accept

³⁶ Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, X, coll. 1565-68; Routh, *Reliquiae sacrae*, III, 1846, pp. 381 ff.

³⁷ Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos*, 59, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, XXV, 356.

³⁸ Eusebius, *De mart. Palest.* (ed. Schwartz), 5, 2-3 (the shorter recension); and the longer recension (containing the Acta of Apphian and Aedesius) in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XVI, 1907, p. 127 (reprinted in Schwartz, op. cit., p. 919).

³⁹ *Analecta Bollandiana*, XL, 1922, p. 26.

⁴⁰ 'La serie dei Prefetti di Egitto,' in *Memorie d. R. Accad. dei Lincei*, XIV, 6, 1911, pp. 324 f.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 325.

⁴² *Texte und Untersuchungen*, XX, 4, 1901, p. 48. Cf. Cantarelli, op. cit., p. 326.

Cantarelli's date of 307 for Hierocles as correct, but would reject his suggestion as to Eustratius, for the only evidence offered is the doubtful statement in the Synaxarium of Constantinople⁴³ to the effect that "this mortal trial of the saintly Christian martyrs Theodora and Didymus took place in the time of the ruler Diocletian and of Eustratius, prefect of Alexandria in Egypt." The notice from the Martyrologium Romanum (under date of April 28), which Cantarelli quotes as additional testimony, is to the same purport, but with the title of *praeses* for Eustratius instead of *praefectus*. Neither the notice from the Synaxary nor that from the Martyrologium Romanum is of independent value, for both are derived from the Acts of the martyrs Theodora and Didymus, which are entirely untrustworthy in their chronology, as the inclusion of Diocletian's name after May 1, 305, the date of his abdication, would indicate.⁴⁴ In the light of these considerations, and because the events narrated in the Acts of Phileas and Philoromus seem to have occupied a longer period of time, the suggested datings of 305 and 306 are to be rejected, and we should accept instead the year 307 as the date of the martyrdom of Saints Phileas and Philoromus.

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⁴³ Synaxarium eccles. Constantinop. (ed. Delehaye, as Propylaeum to Acta Sanctorum, November), p. 712, l. 14.

⁴⁴ This view I had already put in writing in July 1921. At that time Delehaye expressed himself to me as in full agreement with regard to the insufficiency of Cantarelli's proof for the establishment of Eustratius's prefecture in Egypt.

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